



The Lehigh Review

A Student Journal of the Liberal Arts

The Secrets of Lehigh Volume Sixteen Spring 2008

Each year, Lehigh University publishes the Lehigh Review, a student journal of the arts and sciences. Each issue contains some of the best scholarly writing by Lehigh students.

Any scholarly articles, academic essays, or book reviews may be submitted. The Review does not ordinarily accept fiction or poetry.

All submissions should reflect the breadth and depth of the liberal arts. We are especially interested in submissions that draw from the content or methodology of more than one discipline. We expect well-researched and well-written work that does more than rehash existing arguments. Submissions to the Review should demonstrate imagination, original insight, and mastery of the subject.

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A Student Journal of the Liberal Arts

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Letter from the Editor

Dear Reader,

Lehigh's campus is full of secrets—and no, I don't just mean who hooked up with whose boyfriend during Greek Week's Opening Ceremonies. Did you know that in 1918, a severe outbreak of Spanish Influenza caused Drown Hall to be taken over by the U.S. army and turned into a hospital? Or that a massive network of underground steam tunnels connects Wilbur with almost every other building on the Asa Packer Campus?

But here is what I think is Lehigh's best kept secret of all: the College of Arts & Sciences. You may be surprised to find out that the College of Arts & Sciences makes up 40% of the student body, with the engineering and business schools coming in at 26% and 30%, respectively. For this volume, our staff handpicked nine essays that showcase the variety of topics currently being researched by students in the Arts & Sciences community. As you read, be sure to check out all the cool vintage graphics that we found in our library's Special Collections, which offer a glimpse into Lehigh's secret (and sometimes scandalous) past. We hope you enjoy Volume 16, and please don't hesitate to email us with your feedback: LUreview@gmail.com.

Sincerely,

Katie Wilkes
Editor-in-Chief

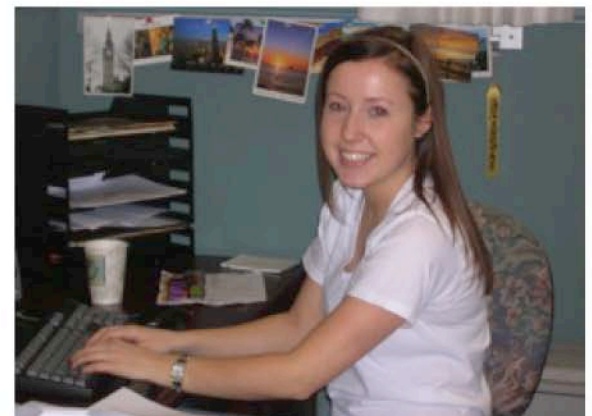


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Art

Merrit Parkway



by Dylan Coonrad

Coxe Hall Weathervane

Today's location for the Global Union, this building was initially a mining laboratory. Its original weathervane, dating back to 1910, contains a pick and shovel.

Lehigh's Origins

After an incredibly successful career, ASA Packer felt obligated to give back to the Lehigh Valley. He pledged \$500,000 to go towards education. Rumor has it that in the spring of 1865 the president of Lafayette College visited Packer and that Packer seriously considered contributing the money until he found out that Lafayette was Presbyterian.

The bustle of cars hides it. The distant thunder of machines sometimes eclipses it. But beneath the commotion of everyday life exists a forgotten wonder that once trickled through the nation's countryside.

In a society mired in notions of speed and riddled with thoughts of industry, its original intention is lost but not entirely forgotten. What once was a winding pathway through the mountains and valleys of the North American landscape has become an example of modern decadence. The Merritt Parkway served as the model for recreational driving in America and ushered in the age of the automobile. In a time of urban development and expansion, the Parkway wandered through the wilderness and meandered among mountainsides. It was supposed to be the future of roadways in America, where a city dweller could escape into a world of reverent, leisurely enjoyment. However, with the evolving ideas of transportation and increasing need for commercial growth, American roadways became more industrial in nature, hasty and impatient. The Parkway exists today as a congested traffic zone more than as a nationally recognized historical landmark. Its bridges and other elements represent the thoughts of a generation constantly striving to connect its people and its communities, the urban with the rural. They were built not merely to bridge spans of earth, but to increase awareness of the natural landscape. The design of the Merritt Parkway and of its architectural features defines an era in which men sought relief from

the urbanity that surrounded them, in hopes to encounter a wilderness that once existed in its place, but as the world changed, its significance was somewhere lost in translation.

Citizens flocked to the Connecticut countryside on the morning of June 29, 1938. The early sun brought a stifling heat, complimented by rays of light that pierced through the surrounding landscape. In the distance, a procession could be heard, fit with bells and whistles to the highest degree. The blinding light bouncing off the gleaming-white surface shrouded the pathway ahead in glowing curiosity. It was a joyous day, one that congressman Schuyler Merritt had envisioned for years. The aging politician patted his moist brow with a handkerchief he drew from his pocket, and in careful thought, recounted the efforts of many men and the long road they took to get there.

On April 30, 1850, Frederick Law Olmsted, a modest young farmer from rural Connecticut, joined his brother John and friend Charley Brace on the Henry Clay, a passenger boat bound for Liverpool, England. Three days after arriving overseas, Olmsted had his first encounter with the English countryside. The young farmer was overwhelmed: "The country—and such a country!—green, dripping, glistening, gorgeous! We stood dumb-stricken by its loveliness...."



The proposed parkway would detour traffic to an alternate route to be constructed 20 miles inland from the Boston Post Road that would solve problems concerning congestion in local communities.

Source: Radde, Bruce. The Merritt Parkway, pg. 26.

As skyscrapers slowly rose into the urban skyline, citizens yearned for salvation from the development that surrounded them. The technological advances made by the automobile industry brought the suburban countryside within reach. Cars became a necessity of modern life available to all social classes, a

Olmsted was most impressed with the romantic garden tradition of the English gentry and the newly developed civic spaces of Joseph Paxton. After returning home he wrote a short article on Paxton's Birkenhead Park for *The Horticulturist*, and in 1852 he published his impressions of English landscaping in a bulky travel book, *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England*. In 1858, Olmsted got a chance to deliver a taste of the English country to America when he was appointed lead architect of New York City's Central Park. For six years he worked to transform the swampy, craggy center of New York City into a picturesque vista reminiscent of the carefully wrought English landscapes he so adored. The park was designed to serve as a substitute to a visit to the country—a bit of nature delivered to your front door and accessible by winding carriage pathways.

The City Beautiful Movement spread across the nation in a wave of verdant expansion. Using Olmsted's Central Park as a model, American park designers at the turn of the twentieth century began looking to the country for inspiration. "Planners envisioned cities dotted with wholesome, morally uplifting parks connected by paved carriageways winding through narrow, pastoral strips of parkland." They were driven by an egalitarian desire to deliver the country to the masses confined within city boundaries. However, in the growing market for commercial development, parks no longer belonged between civic centers and residential high rises. Recreational areas found themselves pushed to the outskirts of city limits, secluded from the mess of steel and iron framework.

mode of transportation that flexed the arm of American innovation. European automobile development, on the other hand, was viewed as a luxury of the wealthy, strictly limited to high-class patrons for leisurely recreation and not a mandatory means of transportation. The scene on the streets of America was hardly as idyllic. Early automobiles pattered around street corners and skyscrapers eclipsed entire city blocks. A survey in 1895 tallied four cars in the United States; by 1900 there were eight thousand automobiles on American roads and by 1940 thirty-two million. This rapid increase allowed residential expansion beyond city limits. Road networks stretched far distances from urban centers. Driving became not only an expression of recreational enjoyment, but also of peaceful repose from the city atmosphere. Early circulation routes were intended to connect commuters with the park-like aesthetics of a lost generation. Streets and highways adopted characteristics that made them seem more like forest oases rather than paved expressways. It was the landscape architect, experienced in design and landscape appreciation, who was responsible for laying out these "parkways," leaving the engineer to calculate the optimal efficiency of highways.

Parkways were initially adapted from Olmsted's carriageway layouts of Central Park. These sinuous parkways drastically differed from the orthogonal roads of the city. Instead of being placed on the land, parkways moved through it, responding to the dips and dives between mountains and valleys. Carefully chosen trees peppered the landscape. Side rails accentuated and complimented the surroundings instead of barricading

commuter traffic from verdant forests. It was this aesthetic that appealed to the developers of the Merritt Parkway.

The meeting was years in the making. Highway commissioner John MacDonald knew it. He stood, looking out upon the crowd of disgruntled citizens, feeling the burden of the long road ahead of him. The scene was set for a radical change. Heavy trucks and loud vans crowded the Boston Post Road, leaving intolerant communities in a haze of smog and dissent. Countless years of ignorance brought him to this day, when progress was imminent and change was undeniable.

In an age marveled by technological innovation and economic maturity, the Boston Post Road began to see its age. As it was called under the Federal Highway Act of 1921, US Highway 1 served as the sole connecting artery between metropolitan centers like New York and Boston

tinguish their towns from nearby New York City pushed for the second option, but not without resentment. The decision immediately polarized the citizens of Fairfield County. On one hand, many of the county landowners opposed the parkway in fear of property reductions and the acquisitions needed to build the road. The looming threat of New Yorkers flooding the Connecticut countryside in pursuit of their version of the American dream intimidated the folk of Fairfield County. Others favored the addition of an alternate route to lessen traffic situations and ensure safer commuter transportation. The opposition movement gained steam among republican estate owners, who formed the Fairfield County Planning Association (FCPA) to voice their concerns in a unified political organization. Stamford congressman Schuyler Merritt championed the efforts of the citizens in favor of

The looming threat of New Yorkers flooding the Connecticut countryside in pursuit of their suburban version of the American dream intimidated the simple-minded folk of Fairfield County.

and the upper New England regions since colonial times. It was designed to accommodate the pre-industrial climate, characterized by limited commercial travel and low-speed, traditional horse and buggy carriages. When applied to the newly developed means of transportation, the needs of this early lifestyle could not adapt to the demanding requirements for high-speed, automotive travel. The Boston Post Road was notorious for its congestion and poorly maintained condition. Oftentimes, the road ran directly through town centers along its route, combining local commuter traffic with long-distance circulation. Following World War I, truck traffic increased along the Atlantic coastline, bringing irrevocable damage to the road and its bordering communities. Citizens cried out for relief from the loud, unwelcomed congestion, and yearned to restore the sanctity that was once cherished.

In 1923, John MacDonald, the Connecticut state highway commissioner, proposed three solutions: a new truck route parallel to the Post Road that would bypass around problematic areas; a new parkway twenty miles inland to alleviate congestion; and further expanding and updating the existing road. Connecticut politicians, hoping to dis-

building the roadway and quelled the fears of the FCPA by guaranteeing the proposed parkway's respect for the existing topography of the land and its desire to invite favorable citizens:

A beautiful parkway is not wholly or primarily a means for quick transit, but it should be constructed so as to add beauty to the landscape, and therefore, help attract desirable residents... and add a desirable element to the population.

Its early stages were filled with the excitement of creating a roadway that accommodated modern transportation needs and showcased the landscape of the Connecticut countryside. Beneath it all was an underlying unity; an understanding held by all those involved that transcended typical American roadway construction and ventured into grounds never before considered. They would need this unity to guide them through a dark spot in American history, when abandoning the project seemed logical and completing it seemed implausible.

The Great Depression stormed across America, leaving devastation and despair in its trail. Economic turmoil disrupted the social hierarchy all around the nation.

Class boundaries faded, equalizing the public on economically meager grounds. Most Americans found comfort in the growing numbers that made up the middle class, reserving the lap of luxury for a select few. In a time when excessive indulgences were rare and costly, citizens turned to their families for guidance and support. As a way of reestablishing familial bonds, people resorted to more efficient and inexpensive forms of family entertainment, both to preserve a level of normalcy in an otherwise upturned lifestyle and to distract from the harsh reality that existed around them. Gasoline in the early 1930s sold for fewer

The Merritt Parkway was in its conceptual phases when the Depression hit. Despite the tightened financial restrictions imposed by the government and the penny-pinching highway commissioner John MacDonald, Merritt Parkway developers were intent on completing the project. It was more evident than ever that the success of the Parkway would provide the salvation the nation needed from economic hardships and industrial mayhem. It would not only boost morale, but also provide relief from dangerous transportation routes. In 1932, the Boston Post Road was plagued with 96 deaths and 2,533 injuries. The

sense, the Merritt Parkway is a product of the Depression as much as it is a response to it. What was originally intended to merely reduce traffic congestion became a symbol of American valor. High-level materials, designers, and technicians were unaffordable, leaving the efforts of many to be the burden of few.

In the outskirts of Connecticut, a group of men met in a small office. Cigar smoke made visible the excitement that permeated the stifling atmosphere. The project laid out in front of them was for a road, a simple solution to a nagging problem. They were commissioned to make it something more, something monu-

“We believe the Parkway will be designed and built not alone, or even primarily to afford rapid transit, but to be in itself an object of beauty and to tend to the rest and peace and satisfaction of those who inhabit the country and those who pass through it.”

--Congressman Schuyler Merritt
Groundbreaking Ceremony, May 23, 1934

than twenty cents a gallon, making pleasure driving, especially on Sundays, a desirable and inexpensive family activity. For this reason, the Depression actually sparked an increased demand for automobile production. While the stock market and other commercial businesses sank into financial bankruptcy, the automobile industry rose to highlighted success. At the onset of the Depression, 280,307 cars were traveling Connecticut's roadways; by 1940, the number multiplied to 418,212. Tourists flocked to the country to relieve everyday hassles and to enjoy parts of the nation that seemed untouched by the hand of the Depression, unbothered by its brutal misfortune.

new roadway would accommodate modern modes of transportation and foster a safe driving environment.

Funds were needed, but rare. The National Park Service was enacted for the specific purpose of creating appealing recreational, conservation, and tourist areas in rural America. Strict policies were adopted by the NPS that limited traditional cut-and-fill construction and concentrated on the maximum preservation of the land, cultural features, and scenery. Pleas from citizens and Parkway developers were heard in Congress, resulting in a massive money infusion from the Works Progress Administration to support Depression Era development and to jumpstart employment rates. In this

mental in the scope of American design. Despite the harsh political and economic climate, the men remained united, determined to raise the broken spirits of millions. With a collective sigh, the air seemed to clear and the nerves began to settle. Pens scratched, and a few lines and letters later, the Merritt began to take shape.

After political scandal and public disapproval, Commissioner MacDonald's authority on the project was stripped on April 30, 1938. Warren Creamer, A. Earl Wood, John Smith, and Leslie Sumner took over managerial command and supervision. Design control was handed over to two men: Weld Thayer Chase and George Dunkelberger. Dunkel-

berger, a draftsman from Hartford, Connecticut, was commissioned to design all sixty-nine of the Parkway's bridges and overpasses, a daunting task for an inexperienced tradesman. However, where Dunkelberger found himself lacking in classical training, Chase excelled. An experienced landscape architect, Chase understood the goals of the Parkway's planners and applied his background in aesthetics to the Connecticut landscape in every foot of the Merritt's design. The cutting of MacDonald's tight reins was hardly a tragic loss. Unburdened by the conservative pressures to create a strict, engineered roadway, Chase and Dunkelberger allowed their architecturally trained minds to flourish. The resulting roadway pulled back the curtain that protected the Connecticut landscape and exposed the countryside in unprecedented wonder.

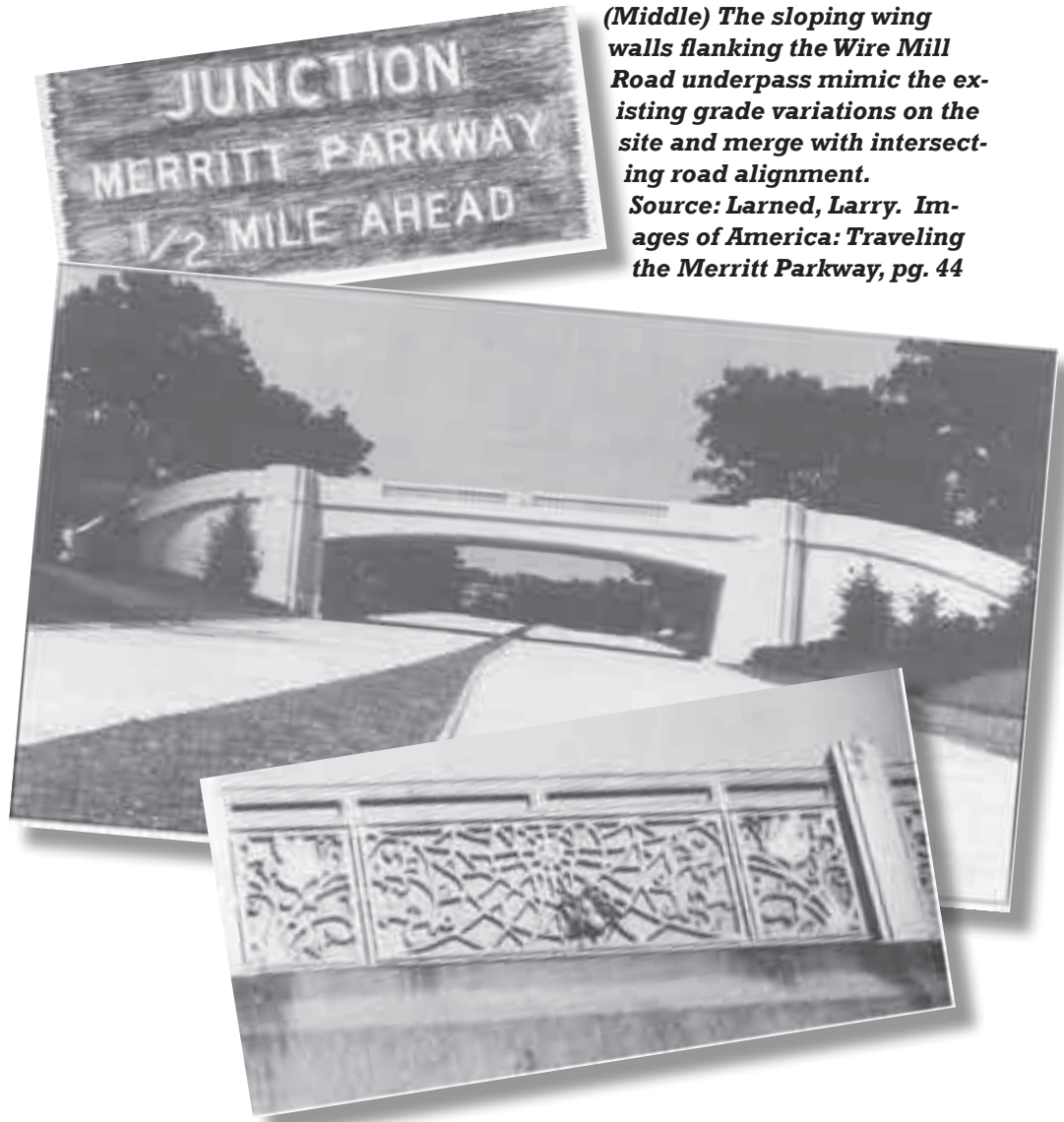
In accordance with the desires of the FCPA and Chase's own theory of landscape architecture, the Merritt Parkway was designed to seamlessly navigate mountain passes and river valleys. It was a response to the preexisting natural system, carefully adjusting to the rise and fall of the land: where a rock outcropping extended from a jagged cliff, the path ran under; where a lake danced with the sparkle from the morning sun, the path went around; where the wind silently blew at the grass in an endless field, the path travelled beside. Nature seemed to spontaneously manifest a roadway, while leaving its beauty mysteriously untouched. Hill crests and gentle curves framed sweeping picturesque vistas along the road's extension, achieving a level of unpredictable elegance matched only

(Top) Signs on the Merritt employed rustic elements in their wood construction, shingled edges, and atypical typeface.

Source: Larned, Larry. Images of America: Traveling the Merritt Parkway, pg. 12, 51

(Middle) The sloping wing walls flanking the Wire Mill Road underpass mimic the existing grade variations on the site and merge with intersecting road alignment.

Source: Larned, Larry. Images of America: Traveling the Merritt Parkway, pg. 44



The insect motifs of the Merwins Lane overpass express Dunkelberger's own appreciation for the land, while adding a decorative elegance that is experienced by slow-moving traffic.

Source: Larned, Larry. Images of America: Traveling the Merritt Parkway, pg. 85-86

by the possibility of what lies around the bend.

The roadway transcended the needs of basic commuter transportation; it became an exhibition of natural beauty. Instead of merely distancing the surrounding landscape with a verdant wall of trees, forests and rivers complimented the meandering pavement. An intimate relationship was forged between the landscape and the driver that would not have been possible on a strict, multi-lane highway. The motorist experienced the land as he was directed through its winding path instead of observing it from the window of a high-speed car. Passengers became tourists to an attraction that industrialists took for granted. Chase understood the need to connect humans with the natural landscape and made several precautions to ensure the parkway preserved the existing topography. Cut and fills were continually avoided in order to maintain

natural grade changes in the road.

Any heavy demolition was done with crude blasting techniques that produced irregular and organic effects so as to match existing abnormalities. Chase also discovered

a way to accommodate the stringent budget restrictions

that limited the amount of purchased trees and shrubs that would be planted along the Parkway. Greenery cleared from the site was conserved and replanted to replicate the natural landscape of the region. An experienced botanist, Chase mastered the native species of flora in the area and relied on the existing foliage—as opposed to exotic imports—to accent the land. Pink

mountain laurels, dogwoods, red cedar, and various other oaks and maples bordered the road, but never in rows or in obviously man-made patterns. Chase's work was most successful when it was least noticed, when it subtly blended with the natural environment. As Supervisor Earl Wood put it, "the main objective of the landscaping program [was] to assist nature in healing the scars of construction."

Considering both the carved landscape on fluctuating grade levels and the technological limits of early automobiles, the Merritt Parkway was initially designed to accommodate speeds of up to forty-five miles per hour. In addition to creating a safe driving environment, low-speed travel placed an increased focus on the detailing of roadside features. Chase and the other parkway designers integrated all parts of the roadway's elements

to establish a cohesive design scheme. When necessary to prevent accidental mishaps, guardrails bordered the route in rustic interpretations of the traditionally steel-based norm. Railings were low and constructed of a native dark oak, pressure-treated to ensure long-lasting durability.

The treat-

ment of these unnatural additions lowered the visual impact of their presence and, in fact, accentuated the neighboring environment. The median strip was set at a regulated width of twenty-two feet, four inches to keep oncoming traffic at a safe distance. In order to preserve sight lines of traffic, vegetation had to be controlled. Oftentimes, expansive areas of grass were accented with a



Signs on the Merritt employed rustic elements in their wood construction, shingled edges, and atypical typeface.

Source: Larned, Larry. Images of America: Traveling the Merritt Parkway, pg. 12, 51

sprinkling of trees to alleviate the repetition of monochromatic green and to recreate the preexisting landscape. Road signs also adopted rustic aesthetics, displaying warnings and alerts in a nontraditional typeface on a treated wood surface with distressed, shingled edges. Billboard advertisements were absent along the Merritt, thereby creating a distinct separation between it and its industrial counterparts. Driving at twilight relied entirely on the moon's silver glow for guidance. Instead of unnatural electric lighting, an innovative system of reflective panels was installed along the median strip to highlight bends in the road. Commuters took front row seats in a theater that showcased natural beauty, a proscenium that framed sweeping vistas of an organic set.

A man sat alone in front of a drafting table in a bustling workspace. In the few years prior, the indulgences of a life he once knew suddenly became the dreams of a man lost in his own existential reality. Lamenting his failed business seemed unnecessary when all over the country, people like himself felt the same cruel intentions of the Depression-era economy. He was more fortunate than others, however, in that he was employed by the Connecticut Highway Department; but working as a draftsman did not come with the same allure as did the position of a professional architect. Little did he know, he was about to get the call of a lifetime, a commission that would immortalize his life in ways he could not imagine. At the corner of his desk, the phone rang.

One revolutionary design consideration employed in laying out the Merritt Parkway was the amount of access roads intersecting the highway at grade level. Part of the Boston Post Road's timely demise resulted from the congestion caused by four-way intersections and the incompatible mixture of local commuter traffic and long-distance travelers. In order to alleviate such problems, a series of bridges was designed to carry roads above and below the Parkway's intended route. What seems like a common practice today was a major evolution in the realm of highway development. Commissioned to design all of the Parkway's proposed bridges was George Dunkelberger, a native of nearby New Jersey. Dunkelberger's work was dictated by the same principles that Chase applied to the landscaping of the roadway. To both Chase and Dunkelberger, the natural environment and the formal implications it posed were inseparable from the conditions under which each of the bridges was to be designed. When landscaping the sixty-nine bridges of the Parkway, Chase planted low, spreading shrubs around

the abutments to blend them in with the natural environment without masking their delicate intricacies. The goal was to create a balanced harmony between the sensitively sculpted landscape and the man-made bridging elements of the industrial temperament. Experiential dynamism and artistic intrigue were of utmost importance when considering bridge designs in order to attract drivers' attention and to develop a carefully orchestrated series of architectural events. A cohesive, yet unique design scheme was developed that offered countless possibilities to a man with an endless imagination.

For many, the Merritt Parkway serves as a bridge museum, an eclectic exhibition of different architectural styles, including Art Deco, Neoclassical, Gothic, Rustic, and Art Moderne. No two bridges are alike. Each structure was specifically designed to compliment its surroundings, as a continuation of the landscape's formal elements and natural features. As Dunkelberger intended:

In low, flat country, the design should typify the character of the landscape, perhaps by horizontal lines; in rolling country by the addition of a few verticals; and on rough terrain, a combination of the two with neither predominating, I am sure, would result in a pleasing structure.

Given the omnipresent budgetary constraints and the desire to connect the bridges under a uniform aesthetic principle, finding a material as adaptable as it was economical became a top priority. For Parkway developers, concrete was an obvious choice. Reinforced concrete was a common medium in Depression-era construction because it was inexpensive and required low-skill labor. But to the public, concrete was an embarrassing alternative to the impressive qualities of stone. Dunkelberger quelled complaints by utilizing the plasticity of concrete in a myriad of designs, ranging from the whimsical to the dramatic. He carved, sculpted, and tinted the material in ways that made each bridge subtly unique. The use of concrete allowed countless arrangements of visual ornamentation while adding less than one percent to the project's overall cost. Other inexpensive materials were used to create visually active facades that enhanced the natural surrounding. Paint, quartz, and even brown and green beer bottles discarded during construction were reused as decorative accents. The juxtaposition of the forms and textures of concrete and the environment in which it was set achieved a high level of character and dynamism.

In addition to these aesthetic considerations, Dunkelberger's designs were dictated by engineering factors and capabilities. Where Dunkelberger primarily dealt with the visual reading of the architectural tone, Leslie Sumner focused on the structural integrity of the Parkway's bridges. The design team's decision to rely on reinforced concrete for bridge construction offered numerous possibilities for Dunkelberger's artistic concerns, while satisfying Sumner's need for an inexpensive material that provided reliable structural support. Sumner anticipated the future advances in the automobile industry and designed the bridges to withstand heavier loads at faster speeds. Foundation conditions in Fairfield County were ideal for supporting extreme weight. Underlying bedrock at convenient depths offered sturdy groundwork for bridges that catered to heavy traffic. At sites featuring unusually large spans, Sumner employed the use of concrete-encased "I" beams and cast-iron arches. The bridge at the Lake Avenue overpass leaves the metal support beams exposed, creating a visual contrast to the typical concrete bridge facades. Lengthy spans were generally avoided, however, using a cost-cutting solution that reflected the economic realities of Depression-era construction. Where the Parkway ran beneath intersecting roads, the median strip was reduced from the usual twenty-two feet to a mere sixteen inches, thereby minimizing the bridge's span and cost.

These "pinched bridges" were criticized for creating uncomfortable driving distances, but they were necessary to keep construction costs reasonable. Sumner also developed an innovative solution to prevent rain from staining concrete surfaces. Because of the material's vulnerability to accumulate mineral deposits, pitched surfaces and drip molding were subtly cast into balustrades and railing faces that inhibited deterioration without sacrificing aesthetic continuity.

It is fair to say that Sumner's work marks no revolutionary development in bridge construction. What makes the Merritt Parkway's structures unique is the way in which Dunkelberger decorated them to disguise the monotony of their engineering sameness. Each bridge is an essay reflecting the architect's interpretation of the particular site and the way it reacts with the natural environment. A suitable example of this can be found at the Wire Mill Road overpass in Stanford. To demonstrate the relationship between the bridge and its location, Dunkelberger flanked the overpass with curved wing walls. These sloping extensions seamlessly merge with the grade of the site and intimately identify with the setting in which it connects. The geometrically carved façade mimics the land's dramatic shadow effects in the sculpted details of the balustrade and abutment towers. At the site of the Morehouse Highway Bridge, the downhill gradient is accentuated by a series of step-like levels that appear to

march downward across the span. The railing and foundation pylons are fashioned to imply an assembly composed of intricately detailed blocks, showcasing the possibility of concrete as a sculptural material rather than as an austere surface. Dunkelberger manipulated the inherently massive nature of concrete by implying its construction of a different arrangement, one that alludes to the visually stacked quality of stone or the artistically organized composition of brick.

Another instance that redefined the use of concrete is expressed in the illusion of articulated voussoirs on the James Farm Road overpass. Impressed lines on the façade imitate Renaissance imagery, complemented by an adapted classical vocabulary evident in the gentle fluting on the mediating Doric column. A concrete-sculpted set of Nike wings is perched atop the capital, adding a sense of quirky enjoyment unparalleled by other interstate highways of the time. To commemorate the forty-fifth birthday of the Connecticut Highway Department, Dunkelberger decorated the periphery pylons with the CHD emblem, both as a tribute to its success and as an acknowledgement to the financial backer. He often relied on historical, local, and sometimes whimsical imagery like this to dress concrete facades and cast-iron railings.

The Comstock Hill Road overpass features a bridge façade decorated in remembrance of a local historic event. In an effort to connect the

The bas reliefs of the Comstock Hill Road overpass are made by a process of pouring concrete into plaster of Paris molds. Febo and Edward Ferrari sculpted busts of a Pilgrim and Native American on the abutment towers to allude to New England's colonial era.

Source: Larned, Larry. Images of America: Traveling the Merritt Parkway, pg. 68-69

people and the environment with the native New England area, detailing on the bridge harkens back to the region's colonial past. Sculpted bust reliefs of a Pilgrim and a Native American are engraved into the two abutment towers supporting the single-span structure. For sculptural details like these, Dunkelberger hired Febo and Edward Ferrari, an experienced father-son sculpting duo. Despite the tight budgetary shackles that bound the project, innovative solutions were developed so as to never sacrifice form and dynamic expression. The Ferraris used a system of waste molds sculpted of plaster of Paris that satisfied government wallets, but required intimate attention by the sculptors themselves. The process involved letting the cement settle in the mold for a month-long period, after which delicate care was taken in removing the plaster mold from the dried concrete while ensuring intricate details were preserved and unharmed. The same technique was used on the Burr Street underpass, where each pylon depicts a scene that commemorates the workers who built the Parkway in dramatic fashion. Teams of surveyors, planners, and supervisors are immortalized in the bas reliefs, creating an eternal bond between the Merritt and those who built it.

Another site that fuses the delicate craft of the Ferraris and the bountiful imagination of Dunkelberger is at Merwins Lane. Primarily designed to connect an overpassing bridle path, its intricate details are intended to be appreciated by a slowly passing audience. From below, the bridge seems unimposing and bare, but a second glance reveals a whimsical theme inspired

by an unusual source. Dunkelberger enhanced the bridge's sculptural quality by relying on insect motifs in its detailing, a reflection of his own admiration for nature and the critters with which we share the land. Shelves on the abutments showcase concrete-sculpted butterflies, designed by Dunkelberger and sculpted by the Ferraris. Their talent for creating subtle dramatic effects is demonstrated in the cast-iron railing, which depicts small insects and butterflies trapped in stylized metal spider webs. In this case, a fantastical design motif is taken to the extreme but is still able to maintain a level of admirable elegance without being excessively gaudy.

Despite the multitude of concrete's inventive incarnations, the public sulked in stubborn disapproval until their thirst for stone was satiated. Because of its expense, a stone bridge was out of the question. The cost of one masonry-constructed project would consume the budget allotted for three concrete bridges. Nonetheless, Dunkelberger settled the dissenting voices by cladding three of the Parkway's bridges in stone veneer. The Guinea Bridge in Greenwich frames a dramatic view of rolling rustic countryside. Large granite voussoirs lining the low, shallow arch support an infill of uncut fieldstones that hang on the rigid-frame substructure. The varying texture and size of the rubble masonry develop a vocabulary closely identified with images of rustic footbridges, native to the Connecticut landscape.

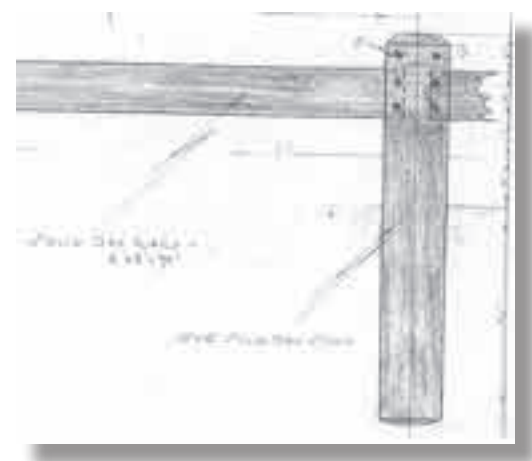
The Rippowam River Bridge evokes similar imagery. Originally clad to appease a disgruntled

sculptor whose studio faced the site, the stone façade blends flawlessly with the surrounding forest and river bed.¹⁸ Once again, the stone is superficially applied to give the illusion of masonry construction. At the Newton Avenue underpass, the façade was treated in a different manner. Instead of cladding the structure with masonry, Dunkelberger gave the appearance of stone by roughening the concrete surface prior to its setting and later applying chemicals to obtain a rock-like finish. The concrete was manipulated to produce graceful effects in a highly economical way.

Beneath the shade of a flourishing elm tree, the spade of a shovel carefully loosened the soil below. Sunlight filtering through the vibrant leaves added warmth to the air of excitement felt by the bustling crowd. They gathered alongside the road, and after six long years of anticipation, finally felt a calming

Guardrails on the Merritt adopted rustic aesthetics that did not impose unnatural forms in the existing environment.

Source: Larned, Larry. Images of America: Traveling the Merritt Parkway, pg. 17, 82



sense of satisfaction. Laid out ahead of them was a path of undeniable beauty, one that shone through the shadow of a tragedy unlike any this country had never seen. The time capsule being buried in front of them would remind the visitors of tomorrow of what this roadway meant to the people of the day, and about the perseverance of a few men who inspired a generation...

On September 2, 1940, six years after Congressman Schuyler Merritt broke first ground, the Merritt Parkway opened to unanimous praise. It has since been declared Connecticut's greatest Depression-era public works project. Two thousand workers and \$22.7 million

city dwellers that heard of the fabled existence of a road unlike any the country had ever witnessed. It captured the minds and imaginations of everyone who explored its wandering path, creating a world of immeasurable wonder where nature sang, bridges spoke, and reality took a much-needed rest.

Its demise, however, came just as quickly as its success. The post World War II climate thrived on speed, efficiency, and industry. Roadways became straight expressways that catered to the declining patience of the commuting population. Engineers took over the reins of a horse once artistically guided by the gentle hands of the architect.



The Lake Avenue underpass left metal support members exposed, a rarity among the typically concrete-faced bridge facades on the Merritt.

Source: Larned, Larry. Images of America: Traveling the Merritt Parkway, pg. 31

brought to reality what was supposed to be the future of American highways, where grace and beauty effortlessly blended with the products of industrial invention. The Merritt quickly became a popular tourist attraction for

Fast-track transportation preceded the need to design aesthetically pleasing parkways. In 1956, the American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials published the first national standards under which all

highways were to be constructed, leaving little room for artistic expression. In this sense, the Merritt Parkway stood as the sole survivor of a lost generation.

The years after World War II were characterized by a massive population migration from the cities to the bordering suburbs. The flood of relocated families clogged the Merritt Parkway's scenic views and disrupted its serenity. Modifications had to be made to accommodate the increased traffic that replaced rustic-inspired features with modern age substitutes: The once sparkling white pavement was covered with a coat of black asphalt, wooden guardrails were replaced by steel imitations, and road signs were updated with unnatural reflective surfaces. Landscape maintenance was entirely ignored, causing bridges to be hidden under layers of overgrown weeds. Failure to prevent damage done by road salt resulted in the serious deterioration of many bridges. Abutments had to be completely redesigned to restore structural integrity, and the use of unintended sealants ate away at Dunkelberger's carefully carved details and surface textures. The Parkway was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in April of 1991, which prevented any major alterations that would affect its reading as a historically recognized landmark. However, Parkway conservationists are constantly being confronted with the proposal to add lanes, which would necessitate the complete destruction of the bordering landscape.

When a nation marred by the face of tragedy cried out for relief, salvation came from the most unlikely source. A road nestled deep within the Connecticut wilderness guided the country through harsh times by touring it through the mountains and valleys it had forgotten. The Merritt Parkway stretched far from the urban jungle of industry and reached beyond the scope of reality to inspire the hearts of many. Where rapids churned in river banks, hope grew stronger. Where meadows swayed with the passing wind, faith was restored. Where falling rocks echoed down a distant hillside, dreams came true. With the changing priorities of modern transportation, roadways cut ties with their natural setting. Commuters retired from the days of recreational driving and only traveled to experience the moment of arrival, disregarding the route that brought them there. The land and the bridges that revitalized a nation now suffer from threats that endanger its memory as an unprecedented pathway into the heart of the natural world. Efforts must be taken to preserve the road that changed America, to remind the country of a prize it once cherished. Before long, the

Merritt Parkway will fall into obscurity, consumed by the very world it celebrates, remembered only as a fabled tale of a lost generation.

Rem Koolhaas:

An Architecture of Innovation

by Daniel Fox

Drown Hall (1908)

In 1918, a severe outbreak of Spanish Influenza caused Drown Hall to be taken over by the army (they had been using Lehigh's labs for research during WWI) and turned into a hospital for Lehigh students after St. Luke's became overcrowded. Four students died while battling the flu in Drown.

In its history Drown Hall has also housed bowling allies in its basement.

1887 Riots

Lehigh's students were dismayed with the lack of support the administration had towards the football program. As a way to celebrate the team's first win of the season, the freshmen burnt down the rickety stands that they saw a disgrace. The tradition of excess at Lehigh football events has followed since.

The three Master Builders (as author Peter Blake refers to them) – Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, and Frank Lloyd Wright – each had a considerable impact on the architecture of the twentieth century. These men

demonstrated innovation, adherence to principle, and a great respect for architecture in their own distinctive ways. Although many other architects did indeed make a splash during the past one hundred years, the Master Builders not only had a great impact on the architecture of the century but also on the architects of the century and beyond as well. Their personal styles and building preferences, therefore, do indeed transcend their body of work and can be seen in architectural styles of today. One such architect is the Dutch-born Rem Koolhaas, who is world-renowned not just for his architecture, but also for his complex yet provoking theories on the urban environment. Koolhaas' process in approaching an architectural problem can be described as enigmatic at best; the depth and breadth of his work, while it can be examined and dissected based on his theories, does not exude a singular architectural style. Is he a Modernist? Is he a Postmodernist? Is he Deconstructivist? Since fitting him neatly into any one of these stylistic niches is almost impossible, it is imperative to jettison all notions of style when tracing Koolhaas' professional development. It seems as if a study of his work is best begun by establishing the fact that he is deeply concerned with how simple "space" can be transformed into an "environment" which has a

distinct effect on the human condition. It is Koolhaas' focus on layering programmatic elements that leads an environment of interaction (with other individuals, the architecture, and the exterior environment) which transcends the eclectic creations of a man who seems to have been influenced by each of the Master Builders in some way.

Koolhaas' early career was slow-going; he first studied scriptwriting at the Dutch Film Academy before moving to study architecture at the Architectural Association School of Architecture in London. He also studied at Cornell University in New York before founding the Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) in the Netherlands in 1975. Koolhaas and OMA did not have a significant impact on the actual built environment until the 1990s. Much of the firm's early work consists of a series of competition entries (mostly unbuilt), unrealized structures (some actually unrealizable), and the shaping of architectural theory under the direction of Koolhaas. His first book, *Delirious New York* (published 1978), set the tone for Koolhaas' future theories and buildings by using the concept of a "retroactive manifesto" to establish his theoretical standpoint on the development of the urban condition in America.

Delirious uses New York City as a "study model" of sorts, and traces the architectural history of Manhat-

tan through the construction of some of its most well-known landmarks (such as Central Park, Coney Island, and the Empire State Building). Before delving into a historical survey, however, Koolhaas puts forth his theory of Manhattanism, which basically purports that Manhattan has been formed around a “culture of congestion” with the city block being the only source of organization amidst the chaos of rapid construction and change. According to Koolhaas, “Manhattan’s architecture is a paradigm for the exploitation of congestion,” with the desire of man to live in a world surrounded by artificiality (“to exist in a world totally fabricated by man”) as the primary drive behind such congestion. In fact, throughout the course of the book, Koolhaas establishes that it is precisely human desires, fantasies, and obsessions that have not just shaped congestion itself but also the nature of that congestion. The penchant for ignoring the historic nature of a building’s exterior while planning for the interior

According to Koolhaas, “Manhattan’s architecture is a paradigm for the exploitation of congestion,” with the desire of man to live in a world surrounded by artificiality (“to exist in a world totally fabricated by man”) as the primary drive behind such congestion.

creates a “schism” or “lobotomy” in the architecture of Manhattan, but it is precisely that schism which allows the rapid changes of the city to not affect its overall architectural character (defined by the block and the high-rise). In the end, however, the “human obsession” to reach a finite destination in terms of architectural development has led to the need for a “rebirth” in Manhattan’s future to be defined by the concept of mobility and the recognition that “there is no destination” in the development of a city. His proposal for such future development, which he termed La Villette (and also bears a resemblance to Le Corbusier’s Radiant City concept), involves a series of “programmatic bands” being laid end upon end to form the structure of the city; the insertion of random elements into such order would in turn increase the possibility for “unplanned encounters” and an increase in “social energy”. This futuristic, almost utopian, city-scheme represents the culmination of the gamut of complex and almost incomprehensible ideas presented in *Delirious New York*;

in effect, he is concluding that the city in itself is a contradiction and will forever be a contradiction, in that the “the Program” must be present in some form but at the same time have a minimal effect on the built environment. This allows the chance-like nature of human life to penetrate the physical fabric of the city, which is a concept that underlies much of his later built work (which in most cases is smaller in scale but nonetheless echoes the sentiment of the urban theory proposed here).

Delirious New York no doubt lays the foundation for Koolhaas’ future theoretical texts, which are larger in physical weight and size but not as deep in content as this first seminal work. *S, M, L, XL* (published 1995) is a tome which categorizes all of the built and unbuilt architectural works of Koolhaas and OMA in order of increasing size and importance (with a radical design by graphic artist Bruce Mau). Interjected within this so-called catalog are theories relating to the various works of Koolhaas and

OMA, with probably the most important being Koolhaas’ theory about “Bigness” in architecture. “Bigness,” as he describes it, is “ultimate architecture,” architecture that has gone beyond a certain scale to the point which “the size of the building alone embodies an ideological program”. Koolhaas wrote that the basic principles of architecture (composition, scale, proportion) are “moot” when a building “acquires” Bigness, and that the “art of architecture is useless in Bigness”. Throughout his explanation of the idea that Bigness does not simply refer to a large or massive building, but rather more to collections of buildings or structures (the city); in this way, he is once again commenting on the human experience created by architecture, much like in *Delirious New York*. Bigness was indeed a part of *Delirious New York* (although it was not explicitly mentioned), as the idea of looking at the overall picture of the city rather than focusing too much on the minute details of a “Program” was heavily stressed as the key to success for the theory of Manhattanism.

The span of Koolhaas' work in theory does not end there, however; there are a few more ideas of his which are not as terribly pivotal as the ones shown in *Delirious New York* and *S, M, L, XL* but that nonetheless constitute important links to understanding the thinking behind his architectural work. *The Harvard Design School Guide to Shopping* (published 2002) is a book which espouses the idea that shopping is the "last remaining form of public activity" and that shopping greatly influences the fabric of the urban architectural environment through the development of such entities as "mega-stores" and the observed movement of shopping malls from the city to the suburbs and back to the city again. In effect, Koolhaas and his students at Harvard (who aided in gathering material for and composing *Shopping*) are proposing that capitalism and materialism have ultimate control over the architecture and structure of a city; since individuals' movements and experiences are essentially tied to the location and layout of such "necessary" centers to obtain merchandise, he purports that architecture seems to cater more to retail and the successful incorporation of such outlets into every part of the built environment than ever before. Speaking of mega-structures which encourage the movement of large amounts of goods at wholesale prices, Koolhaas, while he acknowledges the prevalence of such shopping centers in today's society, nonetheless condemns them under the category of promoting what he calls "Junkspace." To Koolhaas, "Junkspace" is "what remains after modernism has run its course," space whose over-accommodation in the end makes it quite unaccommodating. Over-sterile, infinitely-expandable, and "continuous" are all qualities of Junkspace; it is space which is difficult to process and whose over-simplicity leads to undisciplined navigation and circulation. It seems as if Koolhaas sees Junkspace and the "architecture of shopping" in the same light; both are designed to appease the consumer, and yet both lead to a waste of space and a so-called cheap experience for the individual partaking in the architecture or the environment in question.

After establishing that Koolhaas' theories are intently focused on defining the urban environment as a space in-and-of-itself that inevitably incorporates Bigness and should attempt to avoid Junkspace, one can see from

where the ideas for his architectural projects spring forth. The project most exemplary of his theories is probably his urban planning scheme for the city of Euralille, France, which was physically realized in 1994. The city's "relevance," so to speak, had just been transformed by the extension of France's TGV network to include London, England (thanks to a tunnel connecting Britain to the mainland). The layout and character of the new Lille is a direct product of Koolhaas' Bigness theory; the architecture itself is not so much important as the myriad functions and activities which the architecture brings to a city-turned-transportation hub. The project is centered near the heart of the city, and the program (carried out by OMA as well as other firms) focuses on that area so as to not disturb the rest of the existing urban fabric. It appears that the result of Koolhaas implementing his Bigness theory in this context is twofold: one, due to the scale and sheer modernity of the structures erected, the city automatically assumes a new aura of importance, and two, the interactions of people within the confines of Lille is forever changed due to the juxtaposition of seemingly incompatible activities with one another. The Congr-expo (or Lille Grand Palais, the only building actually designed by Koolhaas in Lille) is a perfect example of this second result, as it is a structure which contains three distinct zones with three distinct functions: an exhibition hall, a congressional conference center, and a concert hall (known as the "Zenith"). These three auditoria are placed back-to-back in plan, and the spaces capitalize upon Koolhaas' penchant for interaction through the incorporation of glazed walls on the interior (although the Zenith is completely clad in black concrete) and corrugated translucent polyester as the exterior shell, which affords the transitional foyer space a bit of interaction with the outside world through incoming daylight. All of this is packaged in a pretty banal, oval can-like shape, almost reminiscent of a sports stadium; but once again one must remember that Bigness is not about spectacle in the details but rather spectacle in the massiveness. More than just the unexpected interaction of the different individuals who utilize these somewhat dissimilar functions (which now find themselves under one roof) and the interaction of the spaces through materials,

Astronomicum Caesareum - title page

"The Emperor's Astronomy" by Peter Apian (1495-1552) was dedicated to The Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V and describes the mechanics of a geocentric (earth-centered) universe. Within three years, The Emperor's Astronomy was surpassed by Copernicus' De Revolutionibus, Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries



Hours of the Virgin
The presentation in the temple: Mary presents the Christ-child to Simeon (Luke 2:22-39), Book of Hours of Paris use, in Latin, 15th century manuscript, Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries

Koolhaas introduced an “unpredictable” element into the program (a la *Delirious New York*) which allows for interaction: the walls between different zones are moveable, which allow for a myriad of combinations between the three sections and in turn a variety of functions which can be accommodated.

Going back a bit to 1992 takes one to another important step in Koolhaas’ architectural career, the



An image from Plutarch's Parallel Lives, circa 1470-1471. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.

construction of the Kunsthal in Rotterdam. This project required a program of exhibition spaces, an auditorium, and a restaurant to be combined under one roof; additionally, the site in question presented a challenge in that it is bisected by a highway. Instead of focusing on the interaction of space through materials and mobile architectural

elements, Koolhaas envisioned interactivity as stemming from the circulatory system of the building. The backbone of this system is a series of ramps which create a promenade architecturale (somewhat like that created at Villa Savoye) which crisscrosses the interior of the Kunsthal and creates a very disciplined user experience. Although this may

sound formal and “un-Koolhaas,” it really is not; the path through the building is by no means predictable and the dramatic layering of spaces which occurs as a result of the path is distinctly a Koolhaas trademark. Even though the materials used in construction (concrete, travertine, glass planks, and corrugated plastic) do not create the same interior and exterior translucency of the Congrexpo, they, along with the irregular lighting scheme, are consistent with Koolhaas’ theory of architecture experience in that they eschew continuity and, in turn, Junkspace.

Junkspace appears plentiful, however, at the Casa da Musica concert hall in Portugal (designed by Koolhaas in 2001 and completed by 2005), even though in reality it is not. This structure, whose design was originally conceived by Koolhaas (in a smaller scale), as a design for a home, incorporates a main concert hall, a smaller auditorium, educational spaces, and even a VIP lounge in a bold and highly sculptural shell. Much like the Kunsthall (which was essentially a box), the Casa da Musica’s simple concrete exterior is deceiving, as the interior program is actually quite complex. Koolhaas in this instance worked from the inside out by deciding on the shapes and forms of the various spaces and then fitting them together (along with transitional spaces) into a compelling and unique shape. This juxtaposition and spatial layering is reminiscent of the Congrexpo, except in this instance the layering is a bit more dynamic; for instance, the main hall is like an autonomous object hanging within the building’s core, and it even has its own “structural envelope” and “gravity

and stability systems”. Koolhaas also arranged the spaces within the Casa da Musica according to primary and secondary importance, whereas in the Congrexpo the spaces were simply arranged in a linear fashion (he compensates for the fact that the functions of the spaces are similar in this instance by outfitting them in varying materials, such as “homey” wood for the main hall and harsh geometric tiling for another room). Also, the circulatory system is not a strictly-defined promenade architectural experience, but nonetheless is designed in such a way as to make the user excited and surprised. The user experience (which is so important to Koolhaas’ design solutions) is even further enhanced by the glazing which separates the transitional space from the main concert hall, an unusual move. Koolhaas was definitely subscribing to his love for a “culture of congestion” and Bigness with this commission, and, without knowing of these two theories of his, it would seem daunting to try and understand the thinking behind this organized, yet internally chaotic structure.

The Seattle Central Library, completed in 2003 by Koolhaas and OMA, uses basically the same principle of layering space as the Casa da Musica. His mission here was to unite the realms of printed and digital information under one roof, since Koolhaas recognized that a truly modern library would not be complete without a seamless integration of both. Unlike a traditional library, the actual book stacks form only one out of several vertically spaced “platforms,” with such elements as a café, a librarian headquarters, and a digital research center known as the “Mixing Chamber” included

alongside. The user experience is definitely key here and is defined by a circulation system which leads individuals vertically through the platforms; juxtaposed next to these zones and the circulatory ramps are seating areas with generous views of various parts of Seattle. Koolhaas in this instance (much like the Casa da Musica and unlike the Kunsthall and Congrexpo) allows primary and secondary spaces to inform the seemingly-arbitrary exterior structure (a glass shell crisscrossed by steel tubing); for instance, the resting areas cause the “pulled” effect witnessed on the shell’s form to create lateral instances on the exterior that maximize sunlight and heighten the user’s feeling of spatial tension. Aside from increasing user interactivity with the library through the intersection of the “book and the byte” and the creation of a visually stimulating “path” to follow throughout, Koolhaas uses the concept of Bigness to make the library plain fun. Oversized graphics (thanks to the aid of graphic designer Bruce Mau) make the user more comfortable with navigating the structure, and the irregularity of its layout forces exploration and discovery. With Koolhaas’ design, the library is no longer a place to simply gather and disseminate information, but rather a place to interrelate and exchange as well.

Thus far, a few of Koolhaas’ most pivotal built projects have been discussed, and it can be seen that they are for the most part very public spaces. It is equally important, however, to examine his work in other areas of society as well, namely in the educational and residential sectors. His well-known Educatorium, designed for the Uithof University

campus in Utrecht, the Netherlands (and completed in 1997), once again breaks stereotypes. The Educatorium (which is a name purely fabricated by Koolhaas to suggest a “machine of learning”) is a mixed-use facility that houses both examination rooms and common recreational space for students. In order to appropriately define these two different functions of the interior space (which, in traditional Koolhaas fashion, are presented in layers), Koolhaas takes somewhat of a different approach than in his other works. Instead of separating the learning zone from the recreation zone by hovering spatial platforms or thin and translucent interior walls, he continues the thick concrete line of the roof and folds it upon itself to create the necessary division. He also transforms what could be a banal user experience by such “unexpected” program elements as laminated holographic film to make the glazed exam rooms more private (while still retaining their sense of Bigness) and the melding of circulation space with rest or “pause” space. Speaking of “unexpected” program elements, take another Koolhaas student center, the McCormick Tribune Campus Center, this time designed for the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) in Chicago (completed 2004): adhering to his theory from *Delirious New York* that unplanned encounters increase social energy, he positioned the new center directly underneath the Chicago El tracks. The result of such positioning was the need for a cylindrical tube to encase the tracks, a tube which in fact intersects with the roof of the center. This dramatic interaction of old and new, of the historic and the modern, is somewhat uncharacteristic for Koolhaas but nonetheless creates spatial excitement and an energy which makes the student center a lively hub-bub of activity.

Spatial dynamics are not lost on Koolhaas’ residential commissions, either. The Maison à Bordeaux in France (completed in 1998), for example, is a multi-storey house designed for a family with a disabled member confined to a wheelchair. In order to make circulating the house easier for the man and also to be able to take full advantage of the hilly site, Koolhaas took his penchant for human-architecture interaction to a new level; just as has been seen in his other projects, Koolhaas used three floors to create distinct spatial layers. He then introduced a large lift (dubbed the disabled individual’s “office”) which can ascend and descend via hydraulics to each of the three floors, allowing for ultimate mobility in such a large space. As the lift is parked at each of the three levels, the character of each space changes, creating what

could almost be termed “three houses in one”. Koolhaas even allowed the man to feel as if he is in the outdoors without having to actually leave the house by completely encasing the second floor, or the living floor, in glass (the other two floors are constructed in concrete). Even in a large-scale housing project such as the Nexus World Housing commission in Fukuoka, Japan (completed in 1991), Koolhaas manages to create a successful living space while preserving his love for spatial layering and dynamics (the rooms within each house arranged vertically). For this scheme he designed tightly-clustered housing blocks while still maintaining a sense of individuality within each unit through various Japanese screens incorporated into the units and the undulating roof-forms “floating” above the blocks as a whole. He manages to make Bigness work with residential architecture in a way which is neither terribly imposing nor bland, and his obsession with the organizational properties of “the block” (seen in *Delirious New York*), shows through clearly.

As it can be seen in the previous architectural examples and in his theories, Koolhaas does not fit neatly into a particular style category; while each of his projects show clear signs of his influence through certain key characteristics, a uniform style which can be summed up in few words is not created. However, it is important to note that the qualities which transcend his architectural works seem to stem from his connection to the Master Builders, as each of them has definitely had an influence on the course of Koolhaas’ work in some way. Le Corbusier, who Peter Blake calls the Master of Form, and Frank Lloyd Wright, dubbed the Master of Space, are the two individuals with whom Koolhaas probably shares the strongest connection. Aside from their heavy use of concrete, he and Corbusier share a liking for the promenade architectural and in general establishing controlled circulation routes, a concept featured most prominently in Corbusier’s Villa Savoye and in Koolhaas’ Kunsthal and Seattle Central Library. Corbusier was also not afraid to experiment with new and different forms in his projects (best seen in his somewhat oddly-shaped buildings for the capital at Chandigarh, India and the Church of Saint-Pierre in Firminy) like Koolhaas, but it does seem for the most part that the forms he employed were a bit more rational than those Koolhaas tends to (both men do seem to value purity of form, though, which for Koolhaas applies mostly to the exterior form of his works). Koolhaas’ urban theory on Bigness also appears to be similar to Corbusier’s notions about the ideal urban environment; urban ar-

chitecture must not be so concerned with the details but rather with the overall effect and experience created by the collectivity of structures and buildings within the city (Corbusier's overpowering Villa Contemporaine concept for the city of Paris exemplifies this greatly).

Wright and Koolhaas seem to connect on a more theoretical level – both highly concern themselves with the crafting of dynamic space and establishing a user-friendly relationship of individual spaces to the entire program (which shows up in various forms throughout Koolhaas' work and becomes almost a “trademark” for him). Wright, however, usually used the organization of his spaces about a central core (in most of his projects, which were residential, this central space was the living room), whereas Koolhaas tends to organize spaces usually without a distinct center “pivot,” although one could argue that the main music hall at the Casa da Musica goes against this claim. Nonetheless, both men's scope of work is full of projects which rely upon a dramatic and dynamic flow of interior space to keep the user interested and to create not simply a place to “inhabit” but rather a place to “experience”.

Mies van der Rohe, who was not so much

Apian Sky

A map of the sky showing 48 individual constellations as individual figures from Peter Apian's book “The Emperor's Astronomy” written in 1540. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.

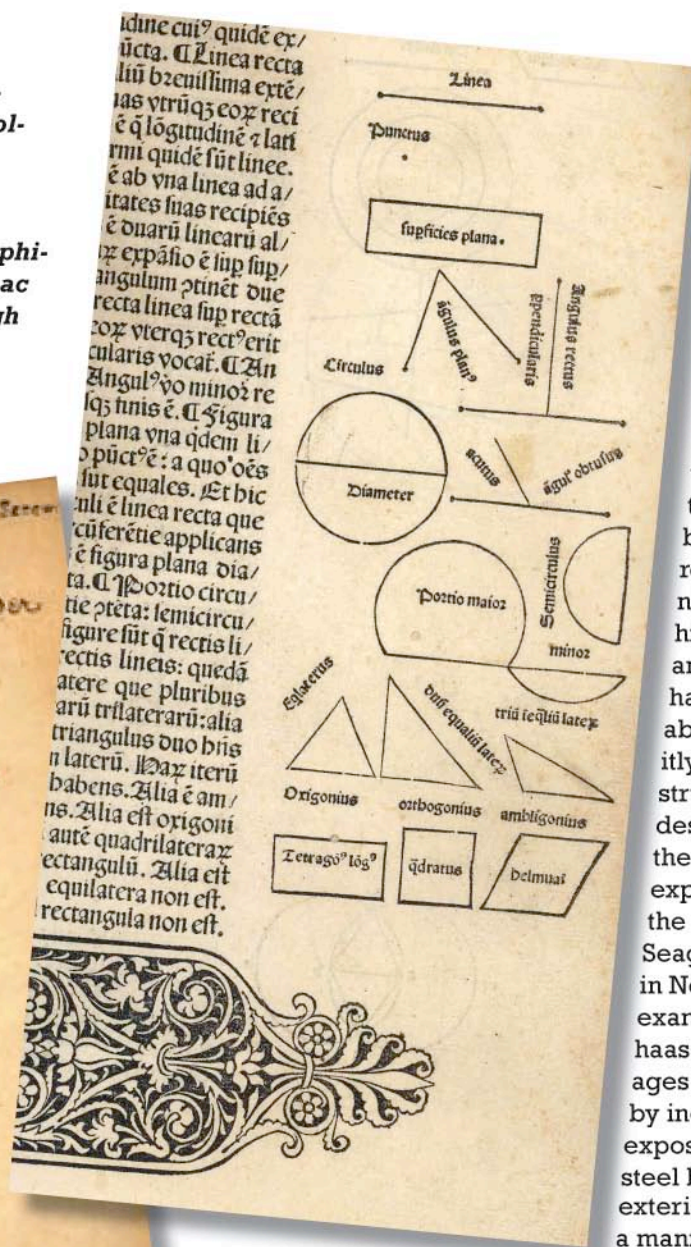
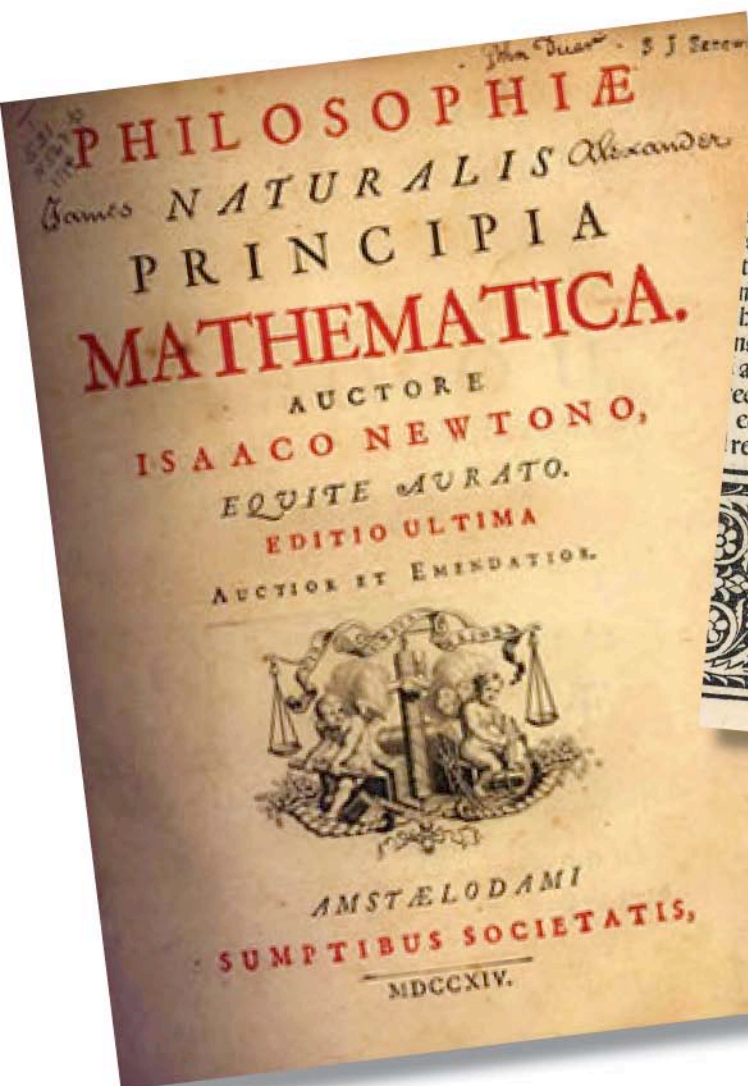


(Right) Euclid:

Page from Euclid's *Elementa Geometriae*, published in Venice in 1482. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.

(Below) Cover *Laws of Motion*:

The cover of the revised 1714 edition of *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* by Sir Isaac Newton. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.



concerned with space and form as he was with a building's structure, probably has the least influence on Koolhaas, but nonetheless, a relationship between the two men's thinking can be seen. Mies relied on rational structure in his architecture and many times had no qualms about explicitly expressing structure in his designs (take the vertical grid expressed on the façade of the Seagram Building in New York, for example). Koolhaas' Kunsthal manages the same feat by incorporating exposed, structural steel beams into the exterior façade in a manner actually reminiscent of Mies'

National Gallery of Art in Berlin. It appears as though exposing structure for Mies meant further amplifying the building's rationality and securing its modern appearance, whereas for Koolhaas exposing structure creates a certain tension to excite the user and invite him or her to take part in the architectural

experience. Exposition also forms a key programmatic element in architectural work for both of these men, as both Mies and Koolhaas consistently introduce transparency and translucency into their designs through glass and other similar materials.

In the end, the creation of an “architectural experience” is precisely the undercurrent which runs through the gamut of Koolhaas’ works and unites his architecture without establishing “style”. Through careful attention paid to space through layering, the use of an exterior shell which does not explicitly belie the interior program, and a proclivity for “Bigness,” Koolhaas creates an architecture that even goes beyond style. Employing a “style” or designing for the sake of a style can result in buildings with little character or depth, but Koolhaas chooses instead to “change it up” as frequently as possible and to not rest on his laurels. In this way he does not simply copy from the Master Builders which preceded him but rather expands upon their thinking and ideas through his projects and theories. Innovation is the term which could best be used to describe his work, and it is precisely his innovation (which comes from reasoning and not simply for the sake of innovation) which will carry him and his architecture through a time when changing styles and tastes make it impossible for a successful architect not to be an innovator.

Art is a Symbol:

Conceptualism and the Vietnam War



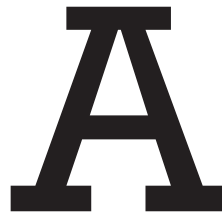
by Michael King

Goodman Campus

The 500-acre site was given to Lehigh during the 1960's by Bethlehem Steel in an agreement that involved Lehigh giving up specific property to Moravian College.

April 12, 1944

Eighty-one Lehigh Engineers find out that their recent deferment from the WWII draft had been rescinded and even graduating seniors are eligible for service.



rt is a symbol. It serves as a visual manifestation of the ideas that shape an age, despite perceived distance and removal from that reality. Jackson Pollock, arguably the most influential American

artist, suggests, "The modern artist cannot express this age, the airplane, the atom bomb, the radio, in the old forms of the Renaissance or of any other past culture." Though Pollock was referring to the 1940s and 1950s, his insight remains relevant in understanding the art created during the Vietnam War. Upon first glance it may appear as though conceptualism, the major American artistic movement of the 1960s and 1970s, demonstrated indifference toward the conflict, but this claim could not be further from the truth. Conceptualists of the Vietnam War era looked to new means and techniques to convey the ideas and to analyze the events that inspired their motivations. To understand the relationship between this particular artistic movement and the Vietnam War, one must first examine the artistic movements that dominated American creative thought over the course of the 20th century.

Modern Art

When the artists Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger published the book, *On Cubism*, in 1912, they unknowingly established a standard for what it meant to be an artist in the modern world. In *On Cubism*, the duo suggests that a work of art is open to a fluid interpre-

tation. It can be perceived from countless perspectives, based on a viewer's experience regarding reality. Gleizes and Metzinger present an essentially romantic view of creating art, one in which there are no rules. The only limits are those within an artist's mind. Subsequently, Williams and Gleizes argue that, "The truly modern artist, the artist of the future, 'will fashion the real in the image of his mind, for there is only one truth, ours, when we impose it on everyone.'" This realization liberated artists, so that they could expose pieces of themselves in their artwork and essentially dominate perspective. The individuals who communicated through art during the Vietnam War adhered to these attributes outlined by Gleizes and Metzinger.

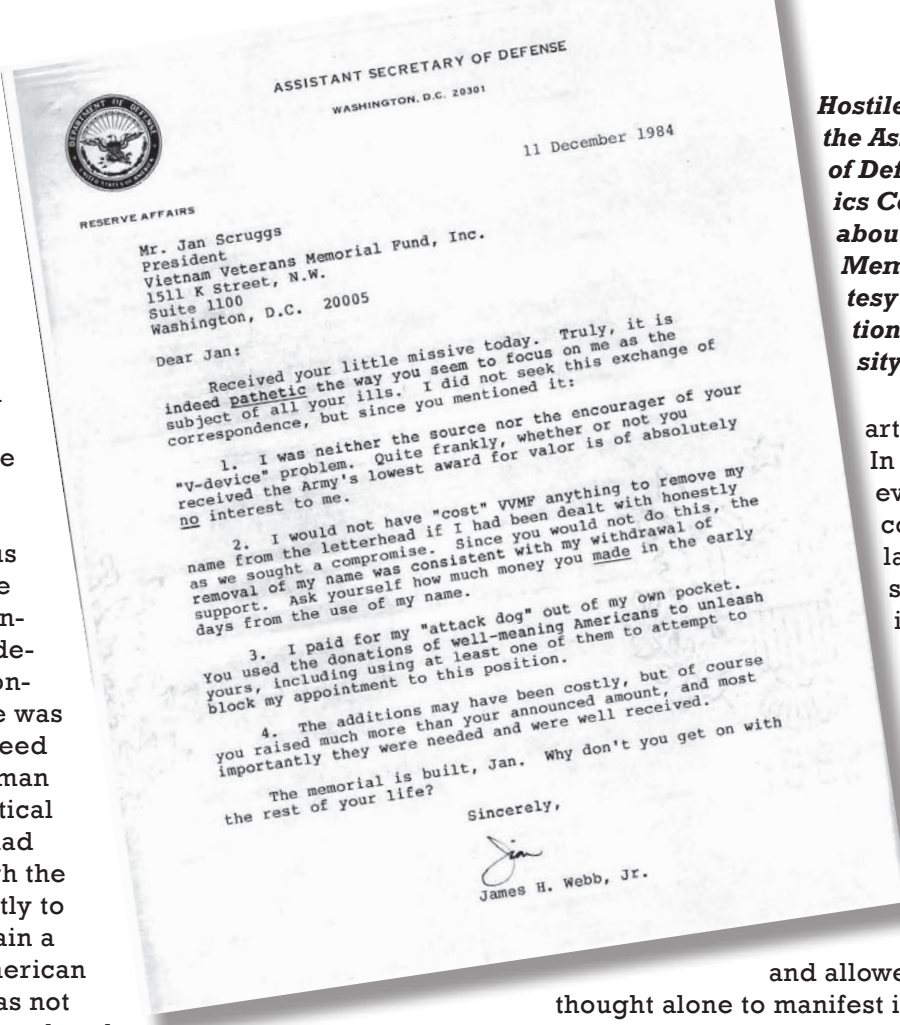
Art During the World War II Era

With the spread of Adolf Hitler's oppressive juggernaut throughout Europe, many of the continent's prominent artists sought refuge across the Atlantic in the United States. Subsequently American art experienced significant influence from the exiled artists and thinkers who were in the midst of embracing the Surrealist aesthetic as prescribed by the movement's founder André Breton. Breton claimed that, "Surrealism rests on

the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of association hitherto neglected, in the omnipotence of the dream, and in the disinterested play of thought." Influenced heavily by the work of Sigmund Freud, Breton embraced the idea of psychic automatism. Psychic automatism can be described as a reconciliation of sorts between the conscious and unconscious realms of human existence through permitting the content of dreams and other desires to permeate one's conscious work. This practice was an attempt to depict the need to expand the limits of human reality in response to political and cultural turmoil that had consumed Europe. Though the Surrealists tried vehemently to ensure that their work retain a sense of purity amidst American culture and influence it was not meant to be. The different cultural settings required new artistic forms. Art historian Matthew Gale suggests, "This signaled the institutionalization of Surrealism in America where exhibitions passed outside the control of the movement. It was to establish a pattern, which divorced the paintings from their theoretical and experimental roots." Despite the introduction of new ideas to American art the situation was bleak. To refresh and save art from itself artists had to look for new motivation.

Art Post-World War II

In the wake of World War II, the United States entered a period of economic prosperity and social complacency. Half way around the world the Soviet Union emerged as a nuclear superpower threatening US dominance with nuclear war. This complex geopolitical backdrop led to the emergence of new



Hostile letters between the Assistant Secretary of Defense and an Ethics Committee Member about the Vietnam War Memorial Wall, Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.

artistic movements. In response to the evolving cultural context, the calculated chaos of abstract expressionism took the then sacred ideal of psychic automatism to a new level. Unlike their predecessors, the abstract expressionists neglected conscious thought all together

and allowed unconscious

thought alone to manifest itself on canvas.

Action painting, the primary technique of the abstract expressionists made famous by Jackson Pollock, paralleled the dynamism of modern life. That is, the apparent unpredictability of throwing and dripping paint onto canvases served as a reaction to the complacency of the populace. Furthermore, the techniques were a testament to constantly fluctuating geopolitical demands. A visual style that challenged the definition of what constituted art despite exhibiting an undeniably torrid melody, abstract expressionism conveyed its cultural influences through aggressively emotive color and dynamic patterns of paint application. Although nonrepresentational, abstract expressionism was nevertheless a revolutionary reaction to the world surrounding the artists.

In the mid to late 1950s and 1960s, artists turned away from abstract expressionism and began forging art out of images to which popular culture had already grown accustomed. Though not necessarily intended

to be a critical movement in tone, the work of the Pop artists did challenge established social institutions and structures. By appropriating elements that reflected popular tastes and trends, the Pop artists conveyed a sense of irony as exemplified by, but not limited to, the work of Andy Warhol. A gifted tactician of manipulation, Warhol used wit to demonstrate his contempt for established values and practices. In a series of works known as *Death in America*, Warhol addressed the way in which the mass media reduces death to a trivial and meaningless happening. The grotesque suicides and car accidents that Warhol reproduced from newspaper photographs initiated a shift in what was deemed acceptable to address by contemporary artists. According to art historian Thomas Crow, "he was attracted to the open sores in American political life." The Pop artists produced artistic images that were directly referential, unlike the subtle means pursued by the movement's predecessors. This perspective is vital in understanding the movements that emerged in the years to follow.

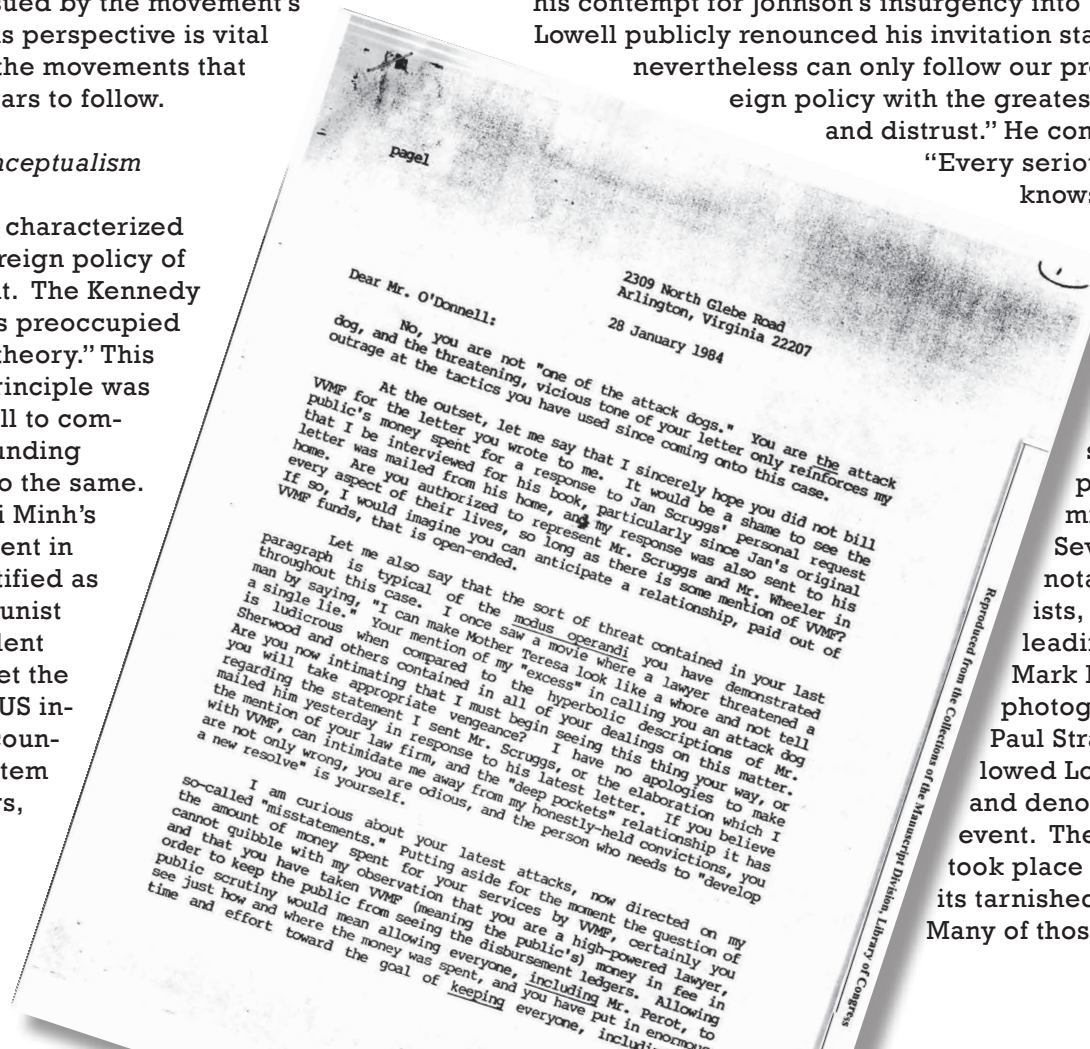
The Origins of Conceptualism

The 1960s were characterized by a shift in the foreign policy of the US government. The Kennedy administration was preoccupied with the "domino theory." This theory's central principle was that if a country fell to communism the surrounding countries would do the same. Thus, when Ho Chi Minh's nationalist movement in Vietnam was identified as embodying communist tendencies, President John F. Kennedy set the stage for massive US involvement in the country. Through a system of military advisors, Kennedy initiated a prolonged conflict that came to fruition under

President Lyndon Johnson. By the autumn of 1967, more than half a million US servicemen and women had been sent to serve in Vietnam, but because it was difficult for the public to recognize the importance of Vietnam to American foreign policy, Johnson attempted to saturate popular culture with pro-Vietnam sentiment.

President Johnson arranged for the White House Festival of the Arts to be held on June 14, 1965. If he could win the favor of the painters, sculptors, writers, musicians, and photographers who were invited through alleged interest in their work and recognition of their influence on American intellect, then it appeared as though Johnson would have in a sense legitimated his decisions as a leader by engendering respect and perhaps admiration on a personal level. Pulitzer Prize-winning poet Robert Lowell was one of those expected to attend. In an effort to demonstrate his contempt for Johnson's insurgency into Vietnam Lowell publicly renounced his invitation stating, "I nevertheless can only follow our present foreign policy with the greatest dismay and distrust." He continued,

"Every serious artist knows that he cannot enjoy public celebration without making subtle public commitments." Several other notable artists, including leading painter Mark Rothko and photographer Paul Strand, followed Lowell's lead and denounced the event. The festival took place despite its tarnished image. Many of those in atten-



dance used the event as a platform to publicly vocalize their opposition to the war. As President Johnson reflected: "Some of them insult me by staying away and some of them insult me by coming." Instead of improving Johnson's image and promoting American involvement in Vietnam, the White House Festival of the Arts was a spectacle of political protest that embodied the motivations of many American artists.

Several practicing artists embraced the ideas promoted by Robert Lowell and his counterparts. In doing so they formed an artistic collaborative unlike any the world had yet seen. Known as the conceptualists, these radicals embraced minimalist tendencies, and forged a new kind of art. These individuals embraced the means to an end as the art. They believed the process, not the finished product, was where the key to pure expression existed. The conceptualist aesthetic included highly abstract paintings with seemingly no subject matter, as well as easily recognizable objects that served as a record of ideas. In his *Paragraphs on Conceptual Art* (1967), Sol Lewitt explains, "What the work of art looks like isn't too important. The idea becomes a machine that makes

The Students' Army Training Corps "was established at Lehigh University on October 1, 1918, and was continued until December 11, 1918." Here the announcement is being read in front of Packer Church. Lehigh Register 1918-1919. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.



the art." To fully comprehend the influence real world events had on the work of the conceptualists an analysis of the ideals embraced by these artists is necessary.

Art as a Means of Political Dissent

To say that Robert Lowell was solely responsible for the emergence or organization of the conceptualist movement would be false. It must be noted how-

ever that his stance paralleled the conceptualist identity as aforementioned. Even before Lowell rejected his invitation to the White House Festival of the Arts, artists had begun to implement anti-establishment ideology in their work. In March of 1964 a former minimalist and one of the first artists to be labeled a conceptualist, Donald Judd said, "I'm totally uninterested in European art and I think it's over with." Instead his influences came from elsewhere. Judd suggested that he did not want rationalism to be incorporated into his work. Judd contemplated what it meant to be an artist at a time when, "the humanity of any individual subject had just been cast in doubt by massive demonstration of the inhumanity of the human species." For Judd, and other artists like him, the answer to this question came in the ironic metaphors that conceptualism offered.

Donald Judd used his distinct processes to comment on the state of US foreign affairs. Primarily based within the medium of sculpture, Judd turned to conventional materials including sheet metal and plywood, to construct his finished products. After acquiring the desired materials, he would draw up meticulous blue prints that he would pass on to an outside source. This source, usually an industrial engineer, would then create geometric sculptures based on Judd's designs. For the most part Judd's sculptures consisted of identical cube-like or cylindrical pieces to which he would apply one color of paint. Fellow

artist Frank Stella, who worked very closely with Judd, described their kind of work as having, “no background or foreground. Each piece is a kind of unit, but it locks together into what I think is basically a stable or symmetrical situation.” This extreme visual simplicity and repetitive unity is suggestive. Echoing a society’s need to sarcastically lambaste the failed rationalism that had manifested itself through the Vietnam War, Judd used a reduced rationalism to create work that demonstrated not only simplicity, but also beautiful order and equality. Perhaps Judd was trying to convey the belief that less is more. That is, if the United States

refrained from imposing the modernism inherent to the promotion of its capitalist agenda on other sovereign states, then there would have been a more stable environment marked not by conflict but by the simplicity of solidarity. These sentiments were echoed in the work of Robert Morris.

Of his influences the conceptualist Robert Morris explained, “I was making objects that were involved with some kind of process or literary idea of history or state that an object might have other than just that visual one.” Morris recognized the significance of contextual events. Like Judd, Robert Morris



(Right) The Lehigh Student Army Training Corps circa 1915-1919. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.

(Above) Lehigh Student Army Training Corps members during training circa 1915-1919 with Bethlehem Steel in the background. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.





Students playing leapfrog outside the Alumni Memorial Building, 1915-1919, Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries

articulated
creative
thought
through
uncon-
ventional

sculpture. In 1968 Morris

used his *Untitled (Tan Felt)* to articulate his belief in the anti-form. The work was constituted of a number of felt strips that would never be placed in the same position twice and thus presented differently every time the work was photographed or exhibited to the public emphasizing the importance of the process. When coupled with the recognition of the influence of real world events on the interpretation of art, the aforementioned realization of working both inside and outside the limits endemic to his pieces demonstrated the genius of Morris.

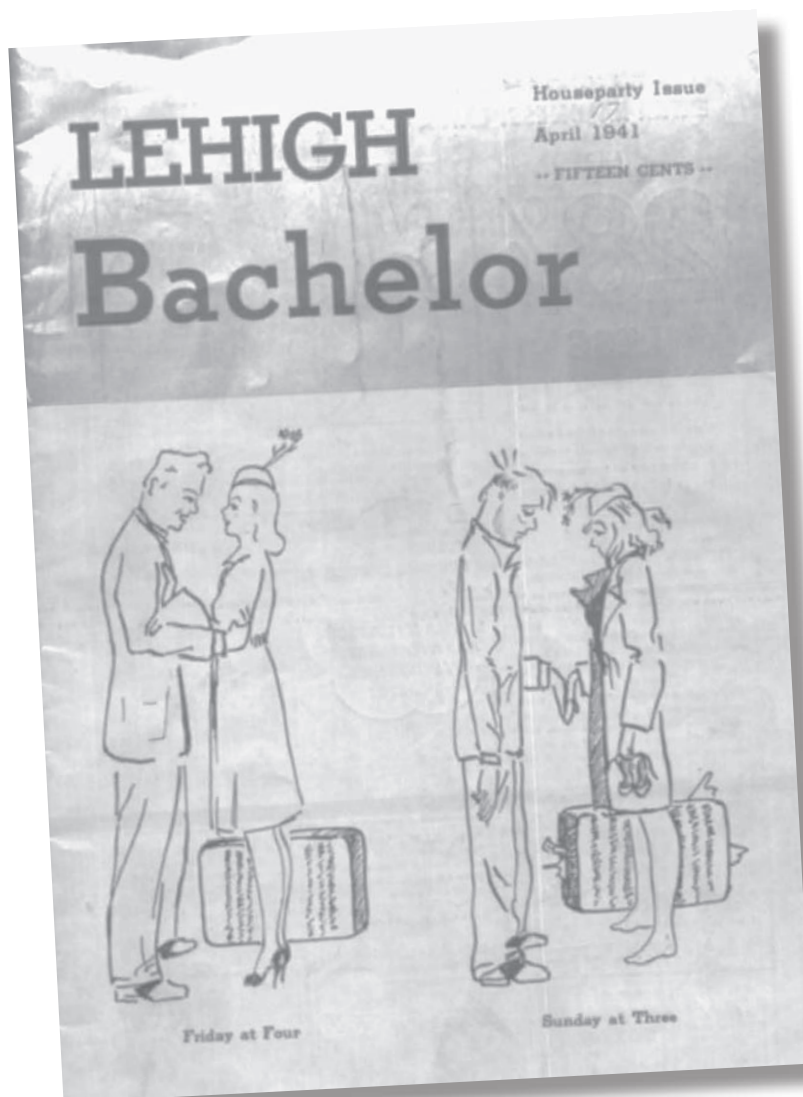
It is likely that the ideas manifested in the art created by Robert Morris were influenced by the Vietnam War. He claimed, "I'm always aware of that thing there in front of me. It's not a matter of being lost." Alluding to his awareness of environment, Morris' suggests his artistic intent was subtle. "I think of them as having this difference between what one sees away from them and what one sees closer." Morris' forms reflect the influence anti-war sentiments had on his psyche. Though making direct reference to his sculptures, the previous statement can be regarded as a call to disregard initial perceptions and to embrace the knowledge acquired from a closer examination of subjects. This approach is a response to the failed rationality that had consumed American social and political practices as exemplified by the war in Vietnam. This idea parallels the ideals pursued in the much larger anti-war movement. In other words, Morris was enabled by the horrors unfolding in Southeast Asia to challenge the idea of establishment in general. Morris's work is a vehement critique of the flawed rationalism that Donald Judd similarly believed had corrupted modern man.

Though sculpture may appear to have dominated

idea art, the conceptualists practiced other forms as well. While it would be exceedingly difficult to compile a definitive list of artists whose work was influenced by the Vietnam War, Frank Stella would be included. Stella looked to the pure geometric abstraction practiced

by several Europeans between the two world wars to develop his technique. He idolized Piet Mondrian, whose paintings consisted of a variety of rectangular forms painted in solid colors. In 1965 Stella produced the painting *Empress of India*. A canvas dominated by four identical chevrons positioned differently in relation to each other, *Empress of India* conveys his exploitation of the conventional use of rectangular canvases "to make quite sure that his pictures bore no resemblance to windows." This vehement opposition to referencing modern entities demonstrated his work's "self-contained" style. He confessed: "I began to think too that it might be necessary also for me to have something different to say." Stella further communicated his need to express his own style through the manner in which he painted his canvases. The *Empress of India* showcases four triangles painted in different hues of brown and red with solid white lines separating both the different triangles from each other as well as particular geometric regions of each triangle. This emphasis on separation coupled with a dark, gloomy color scheme evokes a feeling of loneliness and even desperation. These sensations are compounded by the use of powdered metal paint, which gives the work an iridescent sheen. This reflective quality speaks volumes about the personal message on which Stella was fixated. Stella's introspective tendencies related to a generation. Greg Landon, a private in the U.S. First Infantry Division in Vietnam, echoed this dread when he wrote "Morale of the men is fairly good considering the situation we're in, but there is an underlying gloom." Using a simple technique, Stella's *Empress of India* manifests the emotions that had colored his world-view. This work chronicled the general feelings of loss and shame to which Stella connected that had permeated society as a result of the disillusioning Vietnam War. Despite abstract means, the conceptualists had indeed demonstrated their frustration with Vietnam through painting and sculpture.

To connect the world of high art to the real world



Lehigh Bachelor: House party issue April 1941, Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries

events of the 1960s, artist Leon Golub wrote: "This is not political art, but rather a popular expression of popular revulsion . . . but essentially the work is angry against the war, against the bombing, against President Johnson, etc." Though there were exceptions, most practicing artists of the 1960s believed it was taboo to directly address social issues in their work. The conceptualists adhered to this aversion to realism and turned to abstraction to communicate the feelings of the American public regarding Vietnam. Hans Haacke claimed: "If you make protest paintings,



"Never Again", a piece on Isolationism, Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries

you are likely to stay below the sophistication of the apparatus you are attacking." Confirming their established aesthetics, Haacke articulated the conceptualist desire to create works that addressed themselves to individuals through thought. It was the responsibility of a viewer to apply the content of a painting to their life experience. He continued, "It is emotionally gratifying to point the finger at some atrocity and say this here is the bastard responsible for it. But, in effect . . . appeals and condemnations don't make you think." These artists were not practicing arbitration. Instead

their works were the products of prophetic intent.

A Coordinated Effort

As the Vietnam War reached its height in the late 1960s, the art world committed itself to responding to the issue. In the autumn of 1968, a major exhibition of conceptual art opened at the Paula Cooper Gallery in New York City as arranged by peace activist Ron Wolin and painter Robert Huot. A coordinated effort to fundraise for the "Student Mobilization Against the War" campaign, the show contained pieces from fourteen leading artists, including Donald Judd and Robert Morris. Wolin and Huot offered a statement summarizing the artists' thoughts regarding the manner through which their work lambasted the war:

These fourteen non-objective artists are against the war in Vietnam. They are supporting this commitment in the strongest manner open to them by contributing major examples of their current work. The artists and the individual pieces were selected to present a particular aesthetic attitude, in the conviction that a cohesive group of important works makes the most forceful statement for peace.

An inventive anti-war action that raised more than thirty thousand dollars for the campaign, the exhibition was a testament to the character of the pieces on display. The aversion to conventional

standards, that is the emphasis these artists placed on process over finished work, exemplified the "popular revulsion" that demanded articulation. Through their unity the artists featured in this exhibition fixated on the responsibility of art to manifest meaning through forms "beyond reality." To convey the solemnity of the Vietnam War these artists had to "create these kinds of stylized forms which are so brutal that they jump beyond the stylization." In their own manner, conceptualists like Donald Judd, Robert Morris and Frank Stella embodied the modernist principles outlined by Gleizes and Metzinger to address the Vietnam War. The abstraction in which these three men sought refuge, however, may not have resonated with Americans the way they would have liked. Their critique of rationalist tendencies instilled in another conceptualist faction the importance of the process in successfully conveying ideas. It was this other more accessible group of artists that truly captured the public's eye.

Conceptualist Performance

Describing the artistic atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s French artist Daniel Buren proclaimed, "Art is the safety valve of our repressive system. As long as it exists, and, better yet, the more prevalent it becomes, art will be the system's distracting mask. And a system has nothing to fear as long as its reality is masked, as long as its contradictions are hidden." Buren believed that, in general, artists concealed commentary deep within the images they produced. Instead they allowed the infinite forms of beauty to confront viewers upon initial contact with any particular piece. The work of many conceptualists is in keeping with this tradition. There were those, however, who promoted a distinctly political flavor through their respective mediums. Hans Haacke was one of the few artists who implemented this remarkably straightforward ambition.

A direct critique of the Vietnam War, Haacke's bold contribution to the "Information" show of 1970 at the Museum

The city of Bethlehem welcomes home World War I soldiers at the war's end in 1918. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.



Parade for World War I soldiers upon their return home in 1918. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.



of Modern Art in New York City was his effort to “challenge the political status quo.” An interactive piece that required the participation of visitors, Haacke’s work consisted of ballot boxes for “yes” and “no” votes placed under a plaque that read “Would the fact that Governor Rockefeller has not denounced President Nixon’s Indochina policy be a reason for you not to vote for him in November?” This confrontational work challenged the very idea of what constitutes art by reducing the piece to strictly a thought and process. Hans Haacke’s Visitors’ Poll is representative of a transitional form of conceptualism. Making reference to the notion that art should embrace a call to political and social reform on literal levels,

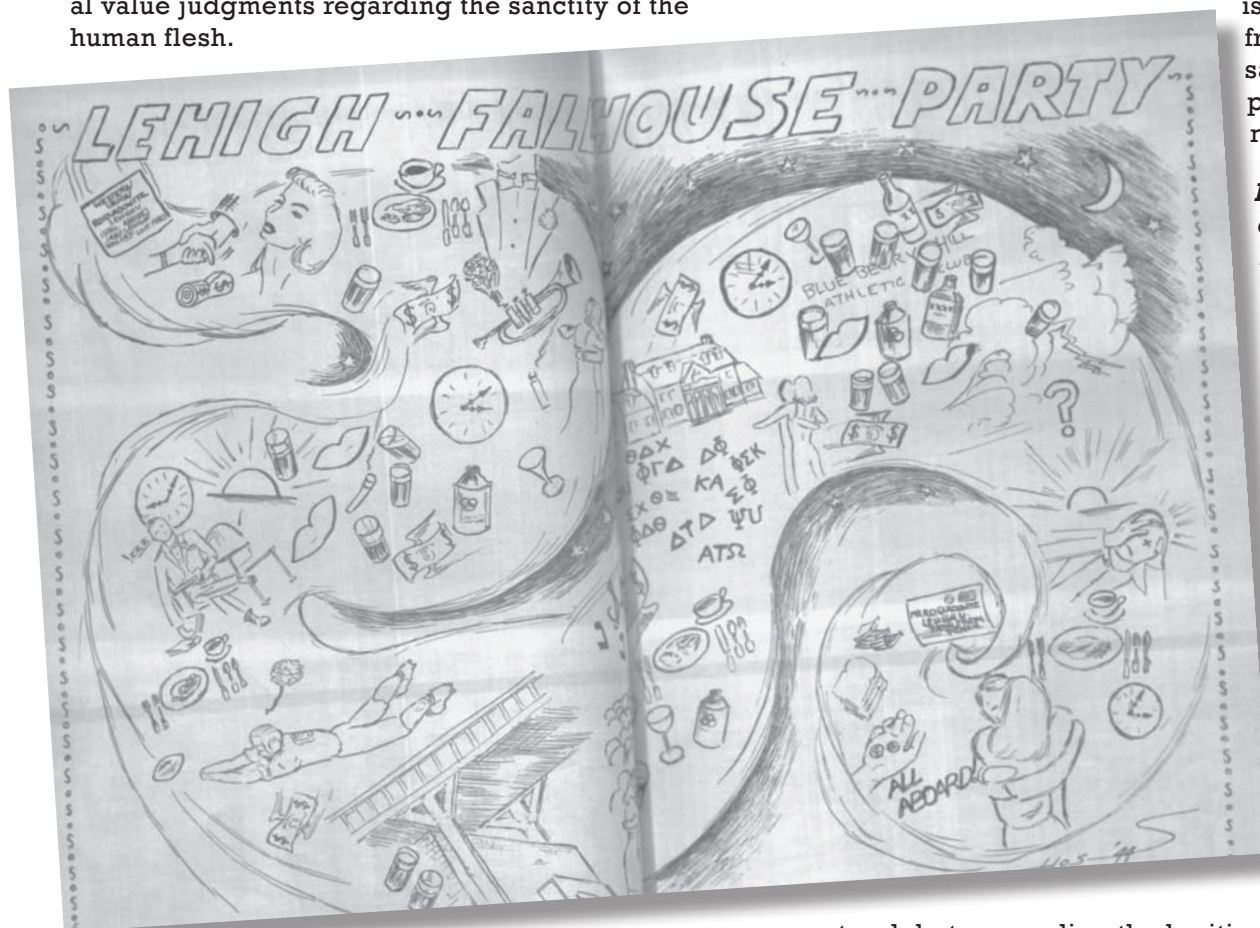
it also championed physical action as a form of artistic expression.

In keeping with conceptualist thought, a number of artists turned to body art as a means of creative exploration. Theatrical in nature, body art accentuated the pivotal conceptualist belief that the process was indeed the main property of art. Furthermore body art is a testament to the exhaustion of other forms. Those who practiced body art believed that they had no choice but to make their own bodies a canvas, because more conventional forms of art could not accurately illustrate the needs of the time. The widespread aversion to rationalism professed by these artists can be attributed to their disgust of the Vietnam War.

The work of American Chris

Burden offers insight into the political significance of body art. Drawing technical influence from action embodied by the abstract-expressionists and the absurdity of the Surrealists, Burden set out to challenge complacent indifference through a catharsis of fear that demonstrated the aggression that characterized 1960s and 1970s politics and society. Rather than directing that aggression towards another individual or inanimate object he used his “flesh as material,” which surely accentuated his aims. In the late 1960s Burden experimented several times with dragging his naked body through broken glass and nails. Before an audience in 1971 Burden shot himself through the arm and in 1974 his work culminated with what he called Trans-fixed. For Trans-fixed Burden had assistants crucify him to the back of a Volkswagen that was then driven around a motorway for more than two minutes with the majority of the sequence photographed. Perceived by many as acts of self-

mutilation, Burden's antics were not a plea for sympathy. With a world-view colored by the Vietnam War his work chronicled the extreme intensity of the era and a nation's habitual violence. The visual language Burden employed parodies the traumatic condition that the US government had forced upon the populace as a result of its military involvement in Vietnam. It is indeed rather derisive in tone. Through damaging the human body, Burden's work ironically mocks traditional value judgments regarding the sanctity of the human flesh.



Furthermore, his irrational processes accentuated the destructive capability of the modern world that had been highlighted by the larger anti-war movement. To recognize the artistic nature of Chris Burden's actions is to modify one's perception of art.

A Quaker and father of three children, thirty-one year old Norman Morrison was an unsuspecting genius. On November 2, 1965, as part of a larger anti-

Vietnam War protest outside the Pentagon in Washington D.C., Morrison doused himself in gasoline and lit himself on fire. While it is unlikely that Morrison considered himself an artist, his actions nevertheless demonstrated an intention to express, and thus must be regarded as inherently artistic. The premise of art is representation. Though it assumes an abstract physical quality, the act itself possesses the potential to communicate a distinct message. Self-immolation

is transcendental. A friend of Morrison said, "Norman was preoccupied with Vietnam and sometimes

Lehigh Bachelor: "Lehigh Fall House Party",
*Courtesy of Special Collections,
 Lehigh University Libraries*

he made people uncomfortable. You don't like to be reminded constantly that your country is dropping napalm bombs on other people." Morrison did exactly that. By sacrificing his own life he exacerbated an already bit-

ter debate regarding the legitimacy of the actions of the US government in Vietnam. Although Morrison's death was indeed a sacrifice for a cause much greater than his own existence, it must not be denied that one of the most basic human instincts is self-preservation. Therefore, his distinctly irrational behavior placed Morrison in the company of the conceptualists as it serves as a critique of the alleged rationalism practiced by the war making United States. Moreover, Morrison's self-immolation challenged the common

man to examine their moral constitution, which promoted Morrison to serve as the embodiment of the definition of an artist as suggested by Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger. His actions were artistically beautiful, yet tragic. Unfortunately he would not be alone.

If Norman Morrison had potentially conceived the idea of immolating himself from the Buddhist monk who had done the same just a day before the Quaker had publicly communicated his grief, then perhaps Morrison inspired Roger Allen LaPorte to do the same. A twenty-one year old philosophy major at Hunter College in New York City, LaPorte was a member of the Catholic Worker Movement, a "charitable and pacifist organization in New York City." On the morning of November 9, 1965, just one week after Morrison's death outside the Pentagon, LaPorte "knelt cross-legged . . . in the posture of the Buddhist monks," poured a gallon of gasoline over his head and proceeded to light himself on fire in front of the United Nations building. A guard outside the building spotted LaPorte after flames had consumed him and did his best to extinguish the blaze. LaPorte was transported to Bellevue Hospital where he died from his injuries the next day. Given his pacifist tendencies and involvement with a group opposed to the war in Vietnam, it can be surmised that he wanted his death to inspire dissent within the United States as part of the larger anti-war movement. Even if this assumption is wrong, LaPorte's action remains a work of art. His use of not only his body but, more importantly, his life as a means of expression must be considered a response to the Vietnam War's rational irrationality. To view the deaths of both Norman Morrison and Roger Allen LaPorte as works of art is not an attempt to debase their lives. Their actions exposed a philosophical truth embraced by a larger artistic movement. That truth being that art could no longer be visually distinguished from reality. The conceptualists, most notably Morrison and LaPorte, had transformed life and death into art.

Oscar Wilde once said, "We spend our days searching for the meaning of life. Well, the meaning of life is art." Wilde's words speak volumes when considered in relation to the fine art produced during the Vietnam War era. Though other forms may have been more easily understood, it was the work of the conceptualists that provided an accurate record of the

need to extend humanist sentiments over the military industrial complex. Through sculpture, painting, body art, and self-immolation, idea art forced society to redefine its very concept of art. The creation of a new artistic aesthetic, in keeping with suggestions of Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger, was a response to the new culture that was emerging out of the Vietnam War. Pollock said, "The strangeness will wear off and I think we will discover the deeper meanings in modern art." Conceptual art was transcendental. It served as the medium through which emotional abstraction could be reconciled with the minimalist introspection necessary to artistically approach the Vietnam War. The conceptualists understood that representation was more than other artists had let it be; therefore it is no surprise that their tendencies were suggestively nonrepresentational. T.J. Clark wrote, "Abstract art is perniciously lively, but always seemingly on its last legs. And it has to be protected: something is at stake in it: something the culture as a whole is still trying to sort out, of which art is an emblem." This statement could not be any more accurate. Abstract art is the embodiment of all that society and popular culture cannot or chooses not to comprehend. Art is a testament to the fact that emotions, objects, ideas, and events are indeed more than what they may initially appear to be. The conceptual pieces produced during the Vietnam War demonstrate a starkly aggressive atmosphere that enables viewers to connect with the era on a personal level. This need for a truthful sense of awareness was one of the driving forces behind the conceptualists' insatiable desire to express, which has influenced all subsequent art. The conceptualists' emphasis on documenting prevalent ideologies will exist until the end of mankind, as it is through the demonstration of contextually applicable ideas that history is preserved.

Health

Biological versus Environmental Factors:

Determining the Cause of Pervasive
Developmental Disorders in Children

by Jami Zaretsky

Chandler-Ullman Hall

With the first wing of this building completed in 1883, it was so innovative for a chemistry building that it was awarded 3rd place (the Eiffel Tower received 1st place) for the design prize at the 1889 International Exposition in Paris. A layer of sand was constructed between the second and third floors to smother a chemical fire.

Dink Hats

It used to be a long-standing tradition that all freshmen wear 'dink hats' until the Lehigh-Lafayette football game in the fall.

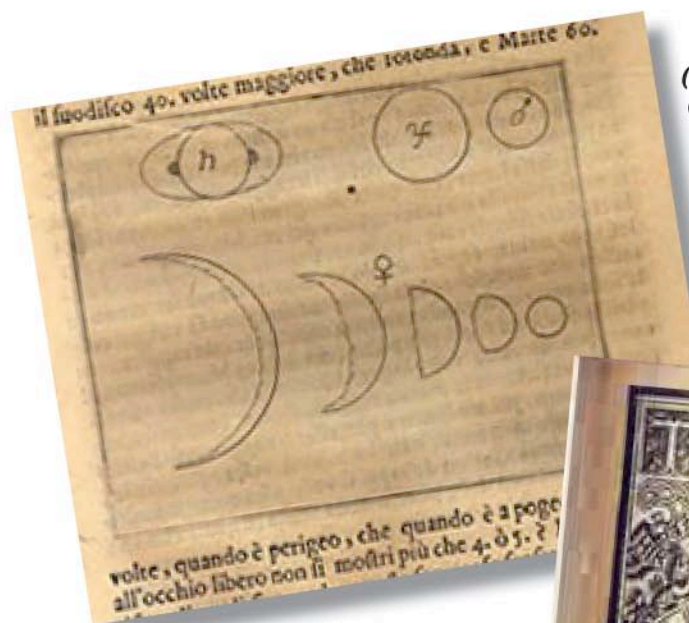
Being diagnosed with a pervasive developmental disorder can mean that a patient may have mild to severe impairments. Four classic disorders have been identified within the spectrum – Asperger's Syndrome, Autism,

Rett Syndrome, and Childhood Disintegrative Disorder – with Asperger's Syndrome showing the lowest level of impairment. When a child's symptoms are not typical of these specific diagnoses, he or she is placed in the category PDD-NOS (not otherwise specified). Characteristic of all these disorders is delayed development in communication and social skills along with affects on cognitive and behavioral functioning. The severity of impairment differs between disorders and even more between individual patients. Because the differences between the levels of impairment can be so extreme, it is imperative that research is given to each individual disorder alone, instead of trying to treat the entire continuum. The possibility exists that each syndrome is caused by similar, but not identical factors. If this is the case, the factors contributing to each specific syndrome must be individually examined in order to find the appropriate cures.

Aside from having their own levels of impairment, each of the pervasive developmental disorders has a unique rate of incidence. The most well-known is autism, which is diagnosed in approximately 3.4 of every 1000 children ages 3-10. Asperger's Syndrome follows with a diagnosis rate of approximately 2 in 10,000. The rarest and most severe disorders, Rett Syndrome and Child-

hood Disintegrative Disorder are much less prevalent. Rett Syndrome affects approximately one of every 10,000 to 15,000 girls. Similarly, Childhood Disintegrative Disorder affects less than two out of every 100,000 children, with the majority of cases being reported in males. There are many children with significant developmental delays, but with symptoms that do not warrant a diagnosis of a specific disorder. In these cases, children are diagnosed as PDD-NOS, which is the most commonly diagnosed pervasive developmental disorder (National Institute of Mental Health Online, 2007). To be diagnosed with any pervasive developmental disorder, a child must display specific characteristics, which are outlined in Appendix A.

Diagnosis usually occurs as early as age two, although symptoms can present themselves much earlier or later than this. Depending on the type of syndrome and the severity of impairment, children can follow different sequences in terms of early development. Generally, children that fall under the autism diagnosis will follow a typical pattern of development for up to 18 months, at which point signs of autism may become apparent (Sicile-Kira, 14). These children are usually withdrawn, lack the skills necessary to imitate others, and have irregular speech patterns, if any at all. Children with autism can be regarded

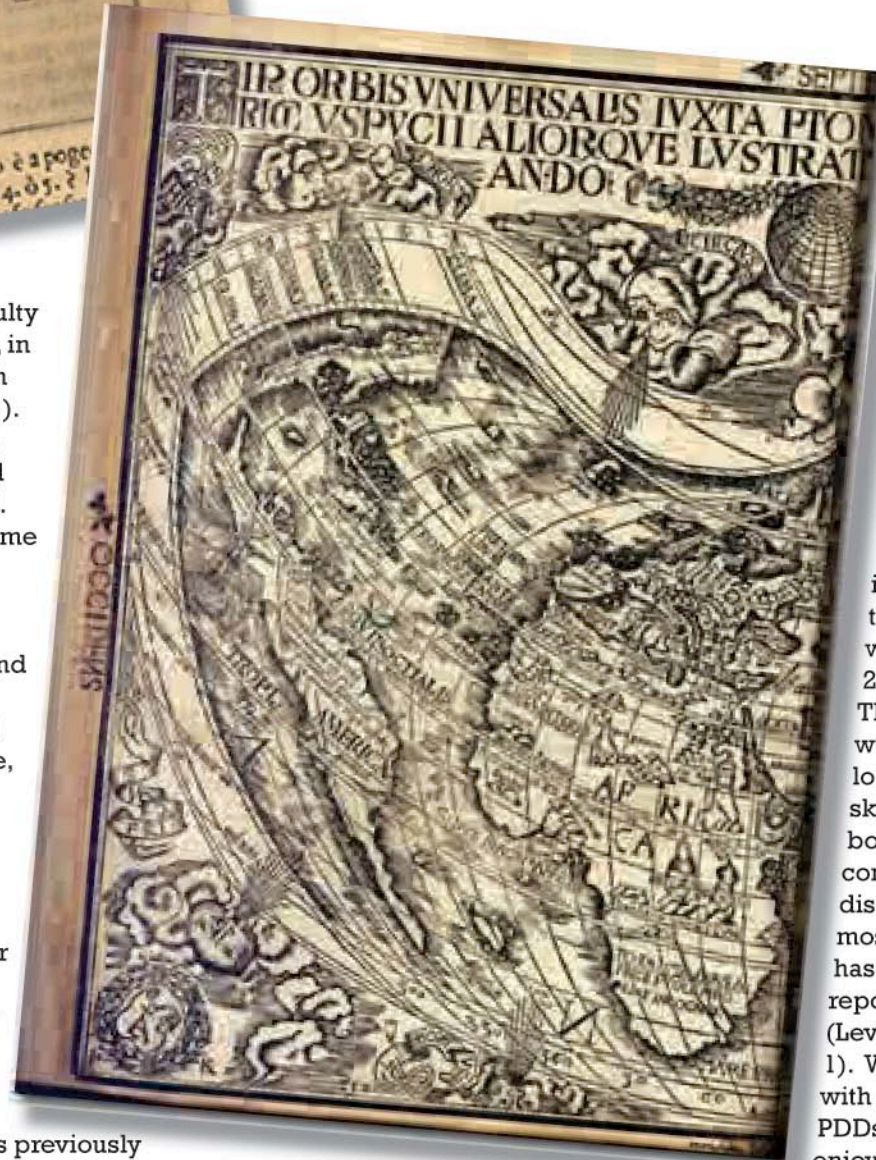


(Left) Earliest rings Saturn:

One of the earliest illustrations of the rings of Saturn. Taken from Galileo's *Il Saggiatore* of 1623. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.

(Below) Earliest map America:

One of the earliest maps in which the name America appears on it. Drawn by Peter Apian and included in the 1520 work *Polyhistor*. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.



as having "very significant difficulty in social interaction, in language, in nonverbal communication, and in pretend play" (Levine, 1996, pg 1). These children also demonstrate a very narrow set of interests and up to 75% are mentally impaired. Children with Asperger's Syndrome have very similar symptoms as those present in autism, with the exception being that they have normal or near-normal speech and cognitive development (Levine, 1996, pg 1). Children diagnosed with PDD-NOS may present some, but not all, of the symptoms indicative of autism. The rarest disorders, Rett Syndrome and Childhood Disintegrative Disorder have a different range of symptoms than found in the other pervasive developmental disorders. Rett Syndrome affects only girls and those affected follow a typical pattern of development until 5 to 30 months, when the child begins to lose skills she has previously mastered (Levine, 1996, pg 1). These girls typically lose all gross and fine motor coordination, and may subsequently develop heart and lung problems. Similarly,

Childhood Disintegrative Disorder involves a pattern of typical development followed by a loss of all previous developmental accomplishments. This disorder is the most devastating, as its effects can take place anywhere between 2 and 10 years. These children will most likely lose all motor skills, speech, and bowel and urinary continence. This disorder affects mostly boys, but has also been reported in girls (Levine, 1996, pg 1). While children with any of the other PDDs are likely to enjoy a fulfilling life,

the quality of life for those with Rett Syndrome or Childhood Disintegrative Disorder is severely diminished.

Causational Factors

With such a broad range of symptoms and an increasingly large number of children being diagnosed, the underlying causes of pervasive developmental disorders must be examined. Various factors ranging from genetics to food allergies have been said to be at the root of these disorders. Some of the most frequently investigated factors include immunizations, neurological brain abnormalities, genetics, environmental toxins, and food allergies. The possibility exists that any of these factors could work as a single agent or together with one another to cause the symptoms associated with pervasive developmental disorders. Further research must be performed in order to rule out or provide evidence toward which factor(s) are contributing to these devastating disorders.

Food allergies have been said to contribute to pervasive developmental disorders. Celiac disease, a disorder in which the body cannot process the protein gluten found in wheat, may be linked to the disorders (Center for Disease Control and Prevention Online). Evidence supporting this claim is found in some children with pervasive developmental disorders, as removing wheat

as pesticides, household cleaners, and lead may have something to do with these disorders.

A specific study was performed in California to test the relationship between autism and pesticides. Spanning a two year birth period from 1996-1998, 465 autism diagnoses were made within nineteen counties in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys. Nineteen pesticide varieties were tested and only one –organochlorines- seemed to pose a potential threat. Twenty-nine mothers living near agricultural fields where organochlorines were used in their first trimesters of pregnancy produced 8 children later diagnosed with autism. This rate was 6 times higher than found in a control group (News10 Online). While this information is certainly shocking and warrants further research, it does not tell us that pesticides are a definitive cause of autistic disorders.

Despite the aforementioned claims, the most apparent cause for these disorders is a genetic defect. It has been noted that children with autism spectrum impairments are likely to have a parent, sibling, or other close relative who also has the syndrome or another pervasive developmental disorder (Constantino, 2006). Additionally, children falling within the autism spectrum often have family

We must recognize that patients with autism often think outside the box, and in order to find a cure we must do the same. At this point, it is unrealistic to believe that one factor is acting alone to cause pervasive developmental disorders and we must look for a combination of factors working together which cause these impairments.

from their diets has successfully alleviated the majority of symptoms. In addition, a case has been made for brain abnormalities playing a role in causing the disorders. It seems, however, that most of these neurological defects are results of the disorders and not the immediate contributing factors (Ciaranello, 1995). In terms of immunizations, the case has been made that the Measles, Mumps, Rubella (MMR) vaccination is specifically at fault. The mercury levels found in this vaccine are to blame for its alleged contribution to pervasive developmental disorders. Besides mercury, other environmental toxins such

members with other genetic abnormalities, which could contribute to the development of a PDD. With this being the case, it is evident that genetics plays at least a partial role in causing pervasive developmental disorders.

The Case for Genetics

There is roughly a 10% chance of sibling recurrence involved when at least one child in a family is affected with a pervasive developmental disorder (Constantino, 2006). This statistic alone provides evidence toward the

existence of a genetic component being present. The problem with identifying genetics as the cause for pervasive developmental disorders is that the gene or genes responsible have not yet been determined. Recent research has isolated some of the potential genes believed to be involved in autism, located on chromosomes 7 and 15 (Waltz, 2003, pg 8). Additionally, the first gene involved in speech disorders was identified on chromosome 7, within close proximity to the gene mutation site believed to cause autism (Waltz, 2003, pg 9). This is a significant finding, as speech defects are present in almost all cases of pervasive developmental disorders. Due to the

defects to their children, there has to be a reason why some children express the disorder in the first place, especially when they are conceived from two non-affected parents. One explanation is the possibility that pervasive developmental disorders are recessive genetic disorders. In a recessive disorder not phenotypically expressed by either parent, both parents must be carriers of the defect in order for the child to be affected. Assuming recessive inheritance, there is a 50% chance that a child could inherit a PDD when one parent shows signs of having the disorder. Autism and Asperger's Syndrome may be more prevalent than Rett Syndrome due to the per-

Girls have two X chromosomes, but only need the genetic equivalent of the information on one of the two chromosomes. Because of this, one X chromosome (from the mother or father) is inactivated and becomes a Barr body. If the X chromosome carrying the mutation is inactivated, the child may express milder or fewer symptoms of Rett Syndrome. In cases where the active X chromosome is the one carrying the mutation, the child will experience full blown Rett Syndrome (RSRF Online).

There are two possible ways to inherit a mutated MECP2 gene from the maternal set of chromosomes when the mother appears to be unaffected by the disorder. The first

Because the differences between the levels of impairment can be so extreme, it is imperative that research is given to each individual disorder alone, instead of trying to treat the entire continuum.

uncertainty as to which genes are directly involved with the disorders, it is impossible to perform genetic testing at this time.

Assuming the claim that pervasive developmental disorders are caused by genetics can be substantiated, it is interesting to examine the incidence of occurrence of both Rett Syndrome and Childhood Disintegrative Disorder. If genetics is the only contributing factor in pervasive developmental disorders, then what makes some disorders more prevalent than others? While it is true that children with Rett Syndrome and Childhood Disintegrative Disorder rarely live long enough to reproduce and transmit any genetic

percentage of the population carrying the affected genes. The assumed recessive pattern of inheritance for most pervasive developmental disorders can be observed in Appendix B.

While the causes of autism and Asperger's Syndrome still remain unknown, studies have revealed that Rett Syndrome is caused by a mutation of the MECP2 gene on the X chromosome during pregnancy. In boys, this type of mutation causes mental retardation, while in girls it causes Rett Syndrome to occur. Girls with Rett Syndrome can have varying levels of impairment, which may be due to which X chromosome is carrying the defective gene.

is known as germline mosaicism, where the mother has the mutation in her eggs, but in none of her somatic (body) tissues. Secondly, the mother may have the mutation, but be asymptomatic due to X-inactivation of the mutated X chromosome. It is also possible to inherit the mutated gene from the father; however, since MECP2 mutation causes mental retardation in males, it would be previously known that the father carries some genetic mutation (RSRF Online).

With this knowledge, it is possible that the majority of pervasive developmental disorders are caused by multiple genetic mutations, while Rett Syndrome is caused by a single

mutation, making it less common than the other disorders. Although the mutation for Childhood Disintegrative Disorder has not yet been identified, it is likely that it is caused by a single mutation as well. When there are more mutations or combinations of mutations involved, the likelihood of expressing the disorder becomes much greater. This would explain why autism and Asperger's Syndrome occur in much greater frequency than Rett Syndrome and Childhood Disintegrative Disorder.

The Case for Immunizations

Besides genetics, the second most commonly scrutinized factor in determining the cause of pervasive developmental disorders is immunizations, particularly the Measles, Mumps, Rubella vaccine. The first vaccine of its type was licensed for use in the United States in 1963 as a single dose, and administration of the vaccine began in the 1970s. In 1989, the American Academy of Family Physicians, the American Academy of Pediatrics, and the Center for Disease Control recommended that two doses of the vaccine be administered to all children residing in the United States, instead of the one dose which was being used up until that point. Using only one dose, 95% of children would be protected against the disease triad, while after a second dose, 99.7% of children nationwide would be protected. Because the second dose offered such a high protection rate, the diseases would be nearly eradicated in the United States if all children were given the vaccination. The first dosage is recommended to be administered when a child



Galileo sunspots:

**Diagrams of sunspots from Galileo's
1613 work *Macchie Solari*. Courtesy of Special Collections,
Lehigh University Libraries.**

reaches 12-15 months of age and the second dosage between 4-6 years of age (Immunization Info Online).

The MMR vaccine is a combination of live attenuated viruses used to prevent children from developing measles, mumps, or rubella (Center for Disease Control and Prevention Online, 2007). Until recently, the vaccine has contained Thimerosal, a mercury containing organic compound. Thimerosal has been used in various vaccinations since the 1930s and there is no significant evidence supporting the claim that it poses a threat to vaccinated individuals (Center for Disease Control and Prevention Online, 2007). In 1999, Thimerosal was removed from many vaccinations as a precautionary measure, including the MMR vaccinations as claims were made that the chemical compound may

have exposed children to unnecessary, excessive amounts of mercury (Madsen, 2002).

Many parents believe that their child's pervasive developmental disorder was caused by the MMR vaccination. Because the early warning signs of these disorders begin to surface at approximately 18 months age and the vaccination is given just a few months prior, the MMR vaccine makes for a good scapegoat in this controversy. In 1998 a study by Wakefield, et al. was used to test this theory. The experiment had a great deal of limitations, including that the sample size was only 12 children. This study indicated a correlation between autism and the MMR vaccination, but due to the small sample size it cannot be viewed as a comprehensive analysis of the issue (Center for Disease Control and

Prevention Online, 2007). Further studies using larger sample sizes have supported the MMR vaccination's innocence; however, the debate still remains over whether or not it has some contribution to the onset of autism.

According to most medical studies, there is no significant correlation between the first administration of the MMR vaccine and the onset of autism or other pervasive developmental disorders. A study in London tested children born after 1979 for a link between the MMR vaccine and autism, and found no reason to believe that a correlation existed between the two factors. In London, the first MMR vaccines were administered starting in 1988. The study showed that there had been a significant rise in the number of autism diagnoses from 1979 onward, but there was not a sharp increase after 1988 when the MMR vaccine was introduced. Many skeptics believe that vaccinated children would show signs of autism soon after being vaccinated; however, children who participated in this study showed signs of autism at the same age, regardless of whether or not they were vaccinated. Subsequent studies in many countries have failed to find a correlation between the Measles, Mumps, Rubella vaccination and pervasive developmental disorders (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Online, 2006).

Interpretations and Discussion

When attempting to determine the cause of any disease or disorder, it is imperative to take into consideration the many factors that could contribute to the problem, no matter how significant or trivial the contribution may seem. One of the biggest obstacles incurred in determining the cause of pervasive developmental disorders is that we are dealing with children who often cannot appropriately express themselves, if at all. In these cases, researchers must rely on parents, many of whom are quick to try to blame anything they can for their child's disorder. This poses a great risk, as unsupported theories can begin to circulate and cause much scientific and public debate, such as the case with the MMR vaccination. Additionally, because there are five types of pervasive developmental disorders, researchers must carefully examine the possibility that each one may be caused by a different factor. Taking into account all of the knowledge and insight we presently have in respect to these disorders, it seems that there is a single probable cause for pervasive developmental disorders.

Each human has a unique set of genetic material.

While family members share similar genes, no two people have identical genomes (aside from identical twins). In the case of identical twins, when one twin suffers from a pervasive developmental disorder, there is an 85% chance that the other twin will have some degree of impairment as well (Constantino, 2005). This alarming statistic shows us that autism spectrum disorders must have a definitive biological nature, and that a group of genetic anomalies shared amongst family members are contributing to the disorders. As previously discussed, patterns of inheritance dictate that not all members of a family will actively express the genes related to pervasive developmental disorders; however, these phenotypically normal family members may be carrying the detrimental genes and passing them on to their children. While the exact genetic material involved in these disorders has not yet been determined, we can be sure that a genetic component does exist based on the statistics involving identical twins and sibling recurrence rates.

The genetic basis of pervasive developmental disorders alone is not enough to explain why different children express the disorders to varying degrees. Additionally, at this time there is no explanation for why diet and other lifestyle alterations have miraculously cured some children of their disorders and not others. The best way to describe this phenomenon is to understand that all people process stimuli differently. Just as some people have a higher threshold for pain or loud noises; children have different mechanisms for reacting to other environmental stimuli. Many cases have been documented where children have been cured from autism upon removing wheat products from their diets, while this does not help other children in the slightest. In these cases, it is likely that both sets of children have the genetic makeup related to autism, yet the onset of symptoms could have been triggered by an environmental factor, in this case the addition of the protein gluten into the diet. In these cases, the protein found in wheat could have activated the genes responsible for expressing autism. When the stimulus is removed, the child's body no longer needs to react to it, and the characteristics of autism may be significantly reduced or entirely disappear.

The case for the Measles, Mumps, Rubella vaccination having anything to do with the onset of autism is very weak. While the timeframe for the initial dosage of the vaccination and the typical onset of autism symptoms do seem to coincide, the vast majority of medical research explains that this is a coincidental finding and that the

vaccination has no meaningful effect on whether or not a child will develop a pervasive developmental disorder. Even if the MMR vaccine was found to play a role in the development of an autism spectrum disorder, the vaccine itself would be acting as an environmental agent and not as the underlying cause for the disorder. If the MMR vaccine was the real problem, every child who has been vaccinated would have developed a pervasive developmental disorder. In the unlikely event that the vaccine has anything to do with these disorders, children would be expressing the disorders due to their genes being activated by a stimulus, in this case the MMR vaccine.

The idea that genes react to environmental stimuli can be further explained when examining the case study regarding the rise of autism in select areas of California. The study found that when mothers were exposed to harmful organochlorines during their first trimesters of pregnancy, their children were 6 times more likely to develop a pervasive developmental disorder than the control group. It is very likely that prenatal exposure to these pesticides could have activated the genes involved in autism, or could have triggered genetic mutations which in turn caused the children to express autism spectrum disorders.

The most necessary component in solving the autism puzzle is determining which genes are responsible for causing autism spectrum impairments. Medical research has already made great strides in attempting to isolate these genes, and have recently found the first of these genes on chromosomes 7 and 15, which are also the sites of many other genetic disorders. Determining the location of the other genes responsible for pervasive developmental disorders will enable doctors and scientists to figure out how to better understand, explain, and eventually treat children diagnosed with these devastating illnesses. After isolating these genes, it will be possible to perform genetic testing on individuals trying to conceive children, so parents will know if their child is at risk for developing an autism spectrum disorder. Additionally, gene therapy may be useful in treating and correcting the problems that pervasive developmental disorders can cause. Lastly, greater knowledge of the biological basis of these disorders will lead to a further understanding of how environmental agents work to alter or intensify the phenotypic expression of these genes.

Although pervasive developmental disorders are on the rise in the United States and throughout the world, it is important to recognize that diagnoses are on the rise

and not necessarily the disorder itself. With advances in modern medicine and technology, as well as increased public awareness about disease and disease prevention, it seems natural that more and more children are being diagnosed with a pervasive developmental disorder. In terms of the medical world, autism is a relatively new frontier and was not well studied in the past. The disorder was only discovered in 1943 and Asperger's Syndrome was only introduced as a viable medical diagnosis in America in 1994. With this being true, it makes sense that diagnoses are on the rise, as more and more parents are learning about PDDs and physicians are able to understand and recognize the signs and symptoms. In years past, children presenting classic signs of autism may have been labeled mentally retarded instead of receiving what we know now to be the proper diagnosis. It may be that the labels have changed, but the frequency of the disorders has always been the same. This is something that we will never be able to know, as we cannot go back in time and re-diagnose patients. Fortunately, there are many physicians and scientists who understand the magnitude of the problem with pervasive developmental disorders, who are dedicated to researching and finding a cure for tomorrow's children.

The Struggle Against a Killer



by Zachary Gray

Model Student

Contrary to the popular rumor that the 'model student' on the Memorial Walkway is a commemoration of a youngster who passed away prior to his arrival as a freshman at Lehigh, its history with Lehigh begins at the beginnings of Gregory Farrington's tenure as President (late 1990's). While at a dinner with the Burman family President Farrington made a comment about the statue he saw in their house. The next day the model student was sitting in front of the President's House. Due to constant vandalism, however, the statue was removed and later relocated to its current location on the Memorial Walkway.

Philosophy Building

Built in 1879, this building originally served as the gatekeeper's house. After certain hours of the night the gates into present-day Memorial Walkway were closed and locked and access to the campus was restricted.

Throughout the course of history, disease has played an important role in the way in which people live their lives. In the middle ages, the Black Death struck Europe killing an estimated thirty to fifty percent

of the population and forever altering the social landscape of that region. In 1918, an extremely virulent strain of the influenza virus caused the most widespread pandemic in history. Today, another deadly disease known as the Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) runs rampant throughout the world. AIDS is a highly destructive disease caused by a retrovirus that affects the immune system. Its victims can survive for an average of ten years following infection; however these ten years are not usually pleasant. Researchers are constantly looking for new ways to prevent this virus from infecting humans, and for ways in which current AIDS patients can improve the quality of their lives. Unfortunately, very little success has been achieved in this endeavor. One method that has been proven effective in the prevention of AIDS is condom usage. In certain small populations of the world, condom usage has been mandated and, consequently, AIDS incidence in those populations has fallen dramatically. However, in many regions of the world, certain religious beliefs and social phenomena are acting as obstacles for safe sex and are therefore furthering the problem of the AIDS pandemic.

As of the middle of 2006, there were more than a billion Roman

Catholics living in the world, accounting for approximately 17% of the entire world population (Ross 10). Although not all Catholics strictly follow every rule put forth by the Vatican, the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church have a definite influence over peoples' lives. In 1968, Pope Paul VI prepared an encyclical letter entitled "Humanae Vitae" in which he outlined the Church's stance on all topics related to premarital sex and the regulation of birth. As one might assume, the Roman Catholic Church condemned premarital sex and, for married couples, denounced all forms of birth control, including abortion and other unnatural means of preventing or terminating a pregnancy. The Pope's reasoning was that God's will is infallible and married couples are to accept the possible consequences of performing the "conjugal act". He writes, "[...] not every conjugal act is followed by a new life. God has wisely disposed natural laws and rhythms of fecundity which, of themselves, cause a separation in the succession of births. Nonetheless the Church [...] teaches that each and every marriage act must remain open to the transmission of life" (Pope Paul VI 3). Pope Paul VI goes on to talk about how the Church feels about methods for deliberately preventing birth.

These methods include but are not limited to condom use, birth control pills, and birth control sponges. He states:

Equally to be excluded, as the teaching of the Church has frequently declared, is direct sterilization, whether perpetual or temporary, whether of the man or of the woman. Similarly excluded is every action which, either in anticipation of the conjugal act, or in its accomplishment, or in the development of its natural consequences, proposes, whether as an end or as a means, to render procreation impossible (Pope Paul VI 3).

Because the Roman Catholic Church has such strict rules about birth control, many followers of the religion have found themselves in a moral catch-22 over the past twenty-five years. Recall that when the “*Humanae Vitae*” was written in 1968, AIDS had not yet come into the mainstream and Pope Paul VI did not need to address the issue. Times have changed, however, and the AIDS crisis has complicated things for the Roman Catholic Church.

Although Roman Catholic law still prohibits the use of condoms, certain individuals in the Catholic hierarchy have stated that it may be acceptable for a married couple to use condoms if one of them, either the man or the woman, is already HIV-positive. Cardinal Javier Lozano Barragan heads the Vatican office for health care, which is currently preparing scientific and moral studies on the issues of condoms and AIDS. He believes, as do some of his colleagues, that in certain instances condom use could be condoned as “the lesser evil” when the alternatives are considered. As Belgian Cardinal Godfried Danneels points out, “[...] it would be a sin for an HIV-positive person to have sex without a condom, since he or she would be violating the Fifth Commandment, ‘you shall not kill’ ” (Associated Press 2).

This concept of the Roman Catholic Church accepting the lesser of two evils also has parallels in the world of prostitution. One theory is that if prostitution were legal, it would be much more regulated and, therefore, sexually transmitted diseases like AIDS would come back under control. While it is true that the Church is much more likely to condone condom use than it is to allow prostitution, questions have been raised in recent years about the possible benefits of legalization. In 2002, Bishop Vaclav Maly

of Prague came out and publicly stated that he believes prostitution should be legalized. Prostitution is a serious problem along the German-Czech border, and Bishop Maly has been there to see the damage it is causing first-hand. Thousands of sex workers from the Czech Republic are under the command of pimps that care much more about the money their women can make than their well-being. Many of these women are infected with sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS and syphilis, and many of the prostitutes become pregnant with the children of their customers. Oddly enough, the clients of these women find these pregnancies to be desirable and, consequently, the pregnant workers can demand up to twice as much money as those who are not pregnant for performing the same acts. Bishop Maly stated that, “[...] allowing prostitution to continue in legal grey area is a greater evil than legalizing it and bringing it under control” (Pigott 3). The bishop brings up an insightful argument. So often in society people make statements from afar about things that need to be done, but few ever have a real life experience that would lead them to those conclusions. In this case, it might not be a bad idea to listen to a man who actually lives amongst the problem. Bishop Maly somberly stated, “It isn’t enough simply to moralize, to judge, but it is necessary to do something” (Pigott 1).

Although Bishop Maly’s stance may seem very radical when compared with the traditional Roman Catholic teachings, he has not met any serious opposition in his country. Father Daniel Herman, who is in support of the Bishop, also commented on the prospect of legalizing prostitution in the Czech Republic; he says, “It doesn’t mean we don’t believe what the Bible says, or what the Church says, but we have different problems today, for instance, than the people of the Church had three hundred years ago” (Pigott 4). Although the Church still officially opposes condom use, it has found numerous other ways to participate in the fight against AIDS. Out of all the HIV treatment centers in the world, 26.7% of them are Catholic-based. According to Cardinal Barragan, the Catholic Church’s presence was felt in 62 countries as of June 2006 and many of these nations have received free retroviral drugs bought with funds raised by Catholic churches around the world. When it comes to prevention, their main goal is to educate people and their families to the point that they will behave properly in

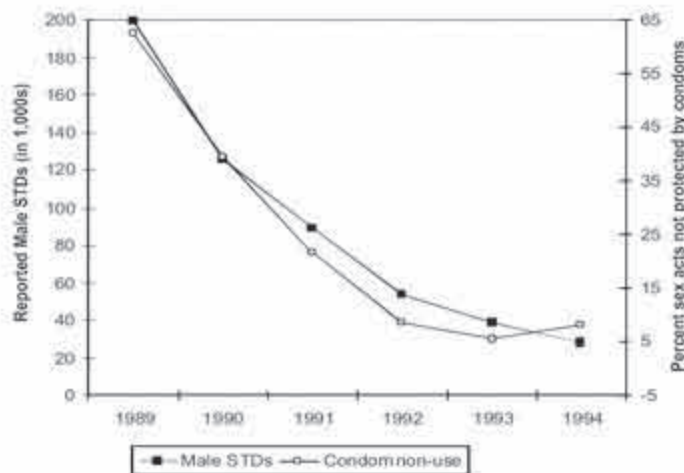
the eyes of the Church. According to Cardinal Barragan, they have found that when people live in a good environment that promotes and supports moral behavior, the educational aspect of AIDS becomes a much easier task. The Catholic Church educates through countless small publications, conferences, and personal interaction with the people in regions stricken with AIDS (Barragan 1-2). They fully support the education of new physicians, nurses, and paramedics who want to help AIDS patients, but one cannot help but wonder: if the Roman Catholic Church is willing to go to great lengths to impede the progress of the AIDS pandemic, then why are they so unwilling to openly accept condoms as an effective method of prevention? Although they are not 100% foolproof, they are proven to drastically reduce the chances of spreading the HIV virus.

In 1989 in the Ratchaburi province of Thailand, a sort of “condom revolution” took place. With a sex worker industry that was thriving, Thailand was a prime location for the spread of disease. At that time, most male clients preferred to have sex without a condom so if a prostitute ever required one, she was most likely going to lose the customer. Consequently, most prostitutes did not require condoms. In 1989, however, the Regional Communicable Disease Control officials in Ratchaburi came to the conclusion that the best way to combat these disincentives for condom use was to require by law that every sex worker wear a condom with every client, every time. Soon thereafter, STD rates in Ratchaburi dropped significantly and the 100% Condom Programme caught on in surrounding provinces (see Figure 1).

Even though the 100% Condom Programme became prevalent in the Ratchaburi area, the issue of male clients making the trip to other provinces for condomless sex still existed. Throughout the beginning of the year in 1991, many presentations were made to high-ranking officials in Thailand with the

hope that they would make the 100% Condom Programme into a national law; in August of 1991, they achieved this goal. The National AIDS Committee, chaired by the prime minister of Thailand, issued a resolution that nationally implemented the 100% Condom Programme. The resolution stated, “The gover-

Figure 1. Comparison of increase in condom use with decline in reported male STDs on a national scale, Thailand, 1989-1994

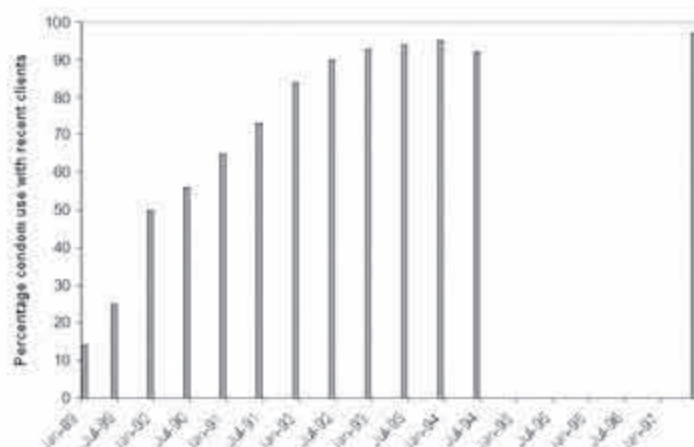


Source: UN AIDS Case Study: Evaluation of the 100% Condom Programme in Thailand: 2000 (pp. 3)

nor, the provincial chief of police and the provincial health office of each province will work together to enforce a condom-use-only policy that requires all sex workers to use condoms with every customer. All concerned ministries will issue directives that comply with this policy” (Evaluation 3). As a result, about 60 million free condoms are being distributed per year throughout the sex establishments of Thailand and condom use has become the norm (see figure 5).

Since the 100% Condom Programme was implemented nationally, STD rates at government-run clinics have plummeted. In 1986, there were more than 400,000 new cases reported and just ten years later in 1996 that number had dropped to approximately 30,000 (see Figure 4).

Figure 5 Increase in condom use with recent clients as reported by sex workers at direct sex establishments in the sentinel serosurveillance



Source: Epidemiology Division, Ministry of Public Health, Thailand

Some questions have been raised as to whether the prostitutes and their clients are simply going to non-government clinics since the implementation of the 100% Condom Programme and therefore artificially deflating the numbers, but surveys of local pharmacists have indicated otherwise. In interviews done during the early 1990's, 80% of pharmacists reported a significant decline in the quantity of drugs sold for treatment of various sexually transmitted diseases. In addition, a survey of active sex workers revealed that about 75% of them still get tested and treated by government-run clinics (Evaluation 26-28).

Although this case study was performed in the late 1990's and the numbers are about ten years

old, it still proves that condoms are an effective means of preventing sexually transmitted diseases. On the other hand, some have argued that condoms are ineffective in specifically preventing a disease like AIDS due to the extremely small size of an HIV virus. In 2003, Cardinal Alfonso Lopez Trujillo from Colombia came out and took this stance claiming that condoms assisted in the spreading of AIDS because they gave people a false sense of security when having sex with an HIV-positive person (Associated Press 2). However, despite the Cardinal's pessimistic views on condoms, statistics taken from the legal brothels in Nevada show otherwise.

These fully legitimate sex establishments are located in the

deserts of Nevada, typically on the outskirts of the major cities of Las Vegas and Reno due to the Nevada state law that prohibits a brothel from being in operation in a county with more than 400,000 residents. All the women who work in these sex establishments are there on their own accord, and generally enter the business because of the large income that a popular prostitute may potentially earn. According to a September 2007 article in the Chicago Tribune, prostitutes can make anywhere from \$36,000 per year on the low end to a staggering \$480,000 per year for upper-class workers (Scharnberg 2-4).

In order to work in one of these establishments, a woman must first be tested for all sexually transmitted diseases. Once she is cleared to work, Nevada state law requires that all sex workers be retested once a week for the duration of their employment. These tests can cost anywhere from \$70 to \$120 per week and the money is taken directly out of the workers' salaries. In addition, the state of Nevada requires that condoms be worn for all sex acts that occur on the premises of these establishments and all prostitutes reserve the right to turn away any customer that they suspect of being infected. At certain brothels, the male clients are required to expose themselves to the prostitute prior to engaging in any sexual activity so that she may examine his genitals with a special lamp that is used in detection of sores associated with various sexually transmitted diseases. According to the Nevada Department of Public Health these tests

and precautions have paid off because no sex worker in the state of Nevada has ever tested positive for HIV (Scharnberg 2-4).

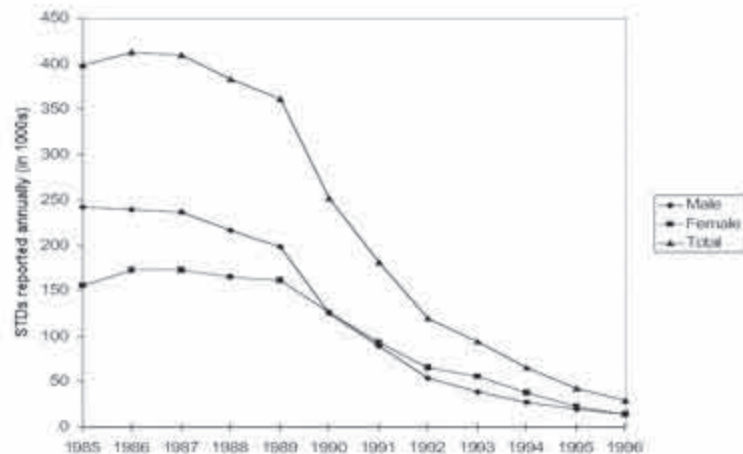
There are other social phenomena outside of religion that influence the use of condoms and attitudes toward AIDS. Certain cultures have a very strong stigma about AIDS patients. Some believe that it only affects a certain class or quality of people, and others have a strong lack of faith in modern medicine. In Japan, for example, AIDS is a growing problem. As of 2003, there were only 12,000 adults living with HIV, which represents less than 0.1% of the population there. However, the Japan Center for International Exchange estimates that the total number of AIDS patients living in Japan is doubling every four years. This rapid increase can be accredited to a few main factors. First, the citizens of Japan do not currently see the HIV virus as their problem and, therefore, it is typically acknowledged as a problem of foreigners. Secondly, Japan has a very traditional culture. Most parents do not want their children to be educated on any sexual topics in school as they believe it will make them want to experiment at an early age. Consequently, these Japanese youths are undereducated about sex and, when they do experiment, they rarely use condoms. Recently, the Health and Welfare Ministry in Japan estimated that only 6% to 25% of the population of Japan uses condoms and many people in that group only use them for birth control and not for disease prevention (Global 1-2).

Japan is a highly patriarchal so-

ciety when it comes to marriage. The husband is undeniably the dominant spouse, and it is desirable for his wife to be viewed in the community as his subordinate. However, if the husband in a relationship has AIDS, it seems reasonable that the wife would want him to use condoms during sex to preserve her own health and well-being. However, this is not the case. Japanese women in this situation tend to avoid confrontations

education becomes the issue with regard to AIDS prevention. Therapeutics Research-Education-AIDS Training (TREAT) conducted a report in October 2005 in which they interviewed a young woman named Ayi Farida, who has been working as a member of their Asian Community for AIDS Treatment and Advocacy (ACATA) for eight years. She works primarily in Papua, which is the easternmost province of Indonesia (Farida 1).

Figure 4 Reduction in male, female, and total STDs reported at government clinics, 1985-1996



Source: Venereal Disease Division, Ministry of Public Health, Thailand

with their husbands out of fear of being shunned by their peers. A professor at Gakugei University in Tokyo said, "A woman initiating the issue of HIV with her partners and asking them to use condoms would appear rude and challenging, an image she would want to avoid" (Global 1-2).

Amongst indigenous populations around the world, lack of

Many cultural issues have impeded her success as a treatment professional throughout her years there including but not limited to total lack of education, various spiritual beliefs of indigenous peoples, and discrimination on the part of doctors from that region.

It can be challenging to educate these populations about AIDS. When one considers the

fact that a large portion of social learning is done through reading and through watching television, it is easy to see why teaching a culture of people with extremely limited resources about a complicated biological disease like HIV/AIDS would be a difficult task. When asked what the main problems were that she faced working in Papua, Ayi said, "Treatment education – I wish I could tell you how hard it is! It's such a great challenge to explain CD4 counts, the immune system, opportunistic infections, compliance, and drug resistance to people who don't read, don't watch TV, and have never had access to any kind of information" (Farida 2). Nevertheless, Ayi and her colleagues try their utmost to educate the AIDS-stricken people of Papua. Their primary message is that you cannot identify HIV-positive people simply by looking at them. For some reason, the people of Papua seem to believe that a healthy looking person cannot possibly have AIDS because, if a person has the disease, he or she will look skinny and will have a skin rash. This is quite obviously not true and Ayi and her team are doing their best to eradicate AIDS myths such as this one (Farida 2-3).

A second roadblock that Ayi has faced is the spiri-

the night and pray to the spirit (Farida 3). Although the shower might cleanse them enough to ward off other sicknesses, the possibility of it curing AIDS are non-existent.

Cultural differences also make treatment of AIDS in Papua difficult because of the stigma that exists around disease in that region of the world. Typically, when a villager gets a fatal illness, he or she is isolated from society. In certain situations, the other villagers don't allow the patient to leave an isolation room and he or she eventually dies of starvation or from unsanitary conditions. In even more rare circumstances, the afflicted are brought out into the forest and burned alive because the villagers believe the coming of a deadly disease is a curse.

Finally, Papuans have to deal with the issue of discrimination from doctors. Once these people are finally convinced to come in to the hospitals to get treated, they are supposed to receive all the best anti-retroviral drugs available from people like Ayi and the doctors she works with. However, sometimes doctors in Papua do not act in the most honorable of ways. Ayi gives an example:

Recently one of the patients died tragically because the

It seems that it is only a matter of time until researchers find a real cure for AIDS, but until that day comes, condoms remain the best method available for preventing this dreaded disease.

tual beliefs of the native tribes in Papua. Some tribes still practice human sacrifice. After the sacrifice, many of the men in these tribes believe that they can cleanse themselves by having sex; however, they believe that sperm is a sacred substance that is not to be wasted so, consequently, using a condom would be completely out of the question (Farida 2). In addition, many Papuans believe in holistic medicines and only go to people like Ayi as a last resort once nothing else has worked. For example, there is a regionally famous fruit known as "red fruit" that the locals claim can cure AIDS. In reality, the fruit was probably just used on patients at a time when the HIV virus was going into dormancy and rumors of a cure spread amongst the people. There is also a spiritual remedy where the patient is supposed to take a shower in the middle of

doctor refused to do a C-section when she had been in labor for almost 72 hours. She was being treated to prevent mother-to-child transmission and she was very good, but finally the baby died inside and the doctor still refused to take any action until she also died. We had followed her from the beginning with counseling and medicine (Farida 5).

Unfortunately, events like this seem to be commonplace in Papua and they are what Ayi calls the most frustrating part of her job. Despite her aggravations, she still admits that the satisfied patients make the whole thing worth it to her. She said, "But when I see the other patients smiling, when I watch their progress and see what they've been able to do because of my assistance [...] and especially when I see the children

– their eyes, their smiles, it encourages me to fight for their future and combat this epidemic” (Farida 5).

It is easy for people to see and acknowledge the things they are doing, but sometimes it is not quite as simple to realize the things they are failing to do. In the case of the Roman Catholic Church, it is contributing huge amounts of money and effort to the fight against AIDS, but it is inadvertently enabling the disease to spread by not allowing its members to use condoms. It seems that the Church is putting too much faith in Catholics remaining virgins until marriage as the best means for preventing AIDS. In 2003, a longitudinal study of 12,000 American teenagers was presented at the annual convention of the American Psychological Society in Atlanta, Georgia in which all the participants had taken virginity pledges. The study showed that, although the pledges lasted for a while, nearly 60% of the participants eventually broke their vow. Additionally, the STD rate in this group was higher than in a control group of teenagers that did not take virginity pledges (Samuels 2). This study proves even further that the Catholic Church's views on abstinence and condoms are not only outdated, but also ineffective. It is naïve to think that every Catholic is going to wait until marriage to have sex and it is even more naïve to believe that they will all marry somebody who has done the same. It is time for the Church officials to start facing reality and accept the manner in which much of the world works today because, although they believe they are making a conscious effort to fight the pandemic of AIDS, they are actually allowing it to spread by condemning the use of condoms. Other groups in the world are not as fortunate as the Catholic Church in that they do not possess the level of education required to make informed decision about condoms for themselves. One cannot fault the tribes of Papua for passing on AIDS because they truly are unaware of the great consequences of their actions. People like Ayi Farida work day and night to help these people, but all the cultural and spiritual barriers make education in that region of the world extremely difficult.

Because of the controlling religious beliefs demonstrated by certain members of the Roman Catholic Church and social phenomena present in various cultures throughout the world, the AIDS pandemic remains rampant as many people forego the use of condoms for safe sex. It has been proven time after time

that condoms are a very effective means of preventing this terrible disease, and they should be used in all cases where transmission is a possibility. As it relates to prostitution, perhaps legalization and regulation would not be a horrible reality. In the long run, HIV infections in the commercial sex industry could be eradicated as they have been in Nevada, not to mention, boosting the economies of the areas that do legalize. In the undereducated regions of the world, the best anybody can do is try to help. Attempts to help these people are being made worldwide and, if this continues, the concept of AIDS prevention will eventually catch on as a global trend. Nearly every deadly disease in history, dating back to the time of the Black Death in Europe, has eventually met its match in human science. It seems that it is only a matter of time until researchers find a real cure for AIDS, but until that day comes, society needs to accept that condoms remain the best method available for preventing this disease.

Politics

Nationalism, Identity and Democracy in Japan

by Emily Schulman

Taylor Gymnasium (1904 & 1913)

The arched entrance to the building used to be an open gateway tunnel to the former football stadium. The stadium's stairs were never removed, instead they were covered, forming a hillside that many a student has sledded down on a lunch tray.

Wilbur Powerhouse (1908)

Until its renovation in the 1970's Wilbur served as a power plant to Lehigh's campus. A vast network of underground steam tunnels (some large enough to walk through) connects the building with almost every major structure on Asa Packer Campus.

Japan's unique and modern democracy did not manifest itself smoothly. Its first attempt at democratization was sparked by the Western threat exemplified by the Unequal Treaties and reversed by a military coup that shaped Japan into

a militaristic and imperialistic country that was not defeated until the United States dropped two atomic bombs on it. Its second attempt at democratization has proven durable, although the country is now stripped of its military power and the current government was styled by the American occupation in the post-World War II era. Clearly, external influences have played a large role in the democratization of Japan. There is still a question of which factors, and to what extent the external world played in its influence of this highly unified country. Further, how can external dimensions explain why that democratization reversed in Japan's first attempt and proved successful in the second attempt?

The first attempt toward democratization in Japan started after Japan began to view the West as a concrete threat when Britain went to war with China in the Opium War of 1840, which opened Chinese ports to foreign trade. Britain, France, Russia, and the United States now had an open door to easily exploit Japan. These foreign powers devised "unequal treaties" under which Japan was forced to make large concessions to the West. The foreign merchandise that entered Japan facilitated the economic crisis that would contribute to the downfall of the

Tokugawa Regime in 1868.

In *War and the Rise of the State*, Bruce Porter discusses how the Napoleonic wars of the early nineteenth century marked the end of feudalism and the dawn of the "modern warfare" state (Porter 145-146). The institutions and tools for the modern-warfare state were implemented wherever Europe had interests and influence. Porter says, "There was, however, one non-European country, and one only, that reacted to the encroachments of the imperial powers with such a determined course of military and political modernization that it rapidly won acceptance as their equal: the island kingdom of Japan" (146). As a country with a tradition of isolation, and a strong national identity, Japan was willing to do anything during the Meiji Restoration, which ruled Japan after the Tokugawa regime fell, in order to ensure its military equality with Western powers. There is an interesting juxtaposition here between the internal and external factors for this extreme process of modernization. The process would not have begun without the western threat, yet external factors cannot explain why Japan decided it must modernize, while other countries, like neighboring China, lived in denial of the growing imperative to modernize.

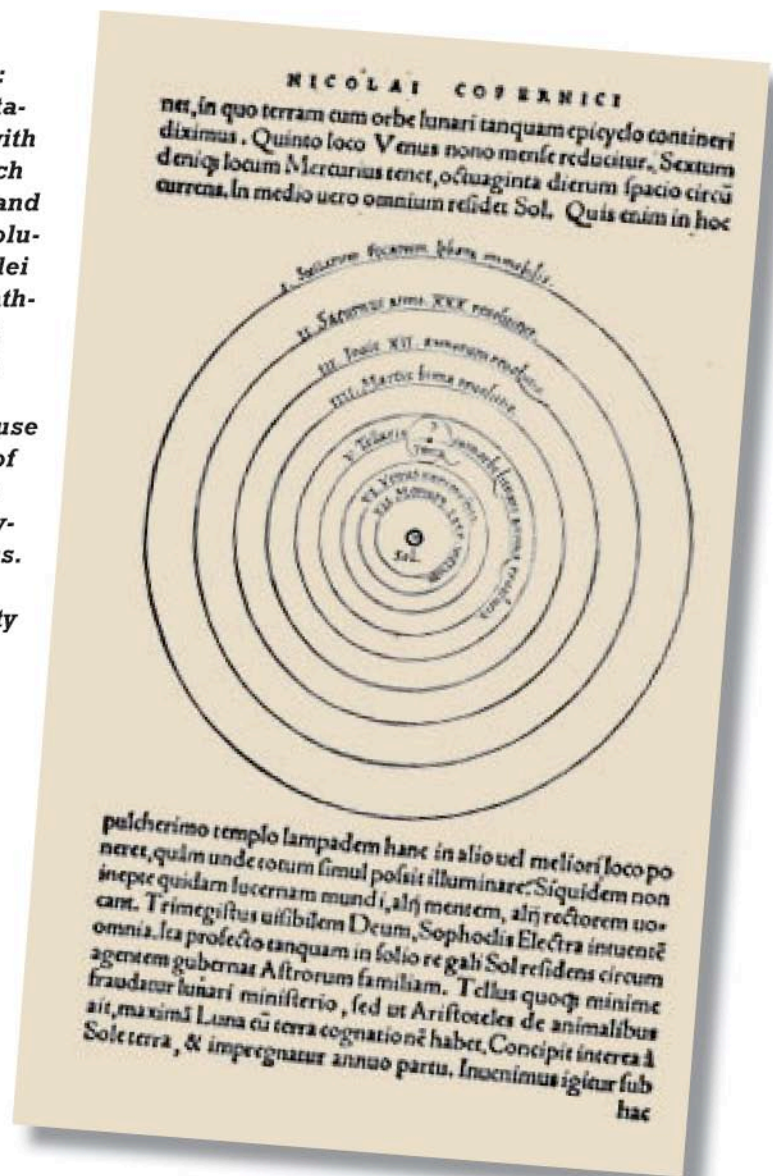
There must be something innate in the Japanese identity that caused the country to so willingly abandon the feudal system and modernize, despite the potential threat to the very identity it was trying to protect. Daniel C. Lynch discusses this idea in his article "International 'Decentering' and Democratization." Lynch says:

"All states want to import some elements of modernity, of course; and certainly all embrace the concept of sovereignty and the goals of economic development (central to survivability). But states differ dramatically on the question of whether to submit to complete reconstitution by yielding to global identity. As Carothers argues, evaluating prospects for democratization 'must proceed from a penetrating analysis of the particular core syndrome that defines the political life of the country in question' (Carothers 2002:19). That core syndrome, this essay contends, is orientation toward geopolitical and geo-symbolic decentering. Countries that resist decentering, such as China, are not necessarily going to democratize, ever; while those that do not resist decentering, such as Thailand, probably will continue to consolidate their democracies, zig and zags notwithstanding" (Lynch 342).

Through Lynch's description, Japan follows a similar pattern to Thailand, rather than China. It is logical that Japan would follow this pattern, due to its lack of ethnic diversity. The country has a strong and internally uncontested belief in the right to the nation's sovereignty. When Japan perceived a Western threat, it was relatively easy to unify the government because the people were already relatively unified. Japan's small size and close proximity to China, which was struggling with Western efforts to exert influence and gain control over valuable resources, made Japan hypersensitive to any sign of threat to the identity of the country.

Lynch discusses that particularly within Asia there are two types of countries: "guardians" and "gate-

Copernicus sun centered:
The first known representation of the Solar System with the sun at the center, which revolutionized the world and started the Scientific Revolution. In 1663 Galileo Galilei was persecuted by the Catholic Church for providing evidence of Copernicus's theory using a telescope and was placed under house arrest for the remainder of his life. This page is from the 1543 edition of De Revolutionibus by Copernicus. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.



keepers." The guardians are states that do not "yield to socialization pressures and undergo successful democratization." The gatekeepers "manage flows from the international to the domestic realms but do not act obsessively to protect an imagined national essence" (340). Considering that Japan rapidly modernized after the Unequal Treaties, one would assume that Japan should be unquestionably delegated as a gatekeeper. The problem is that Japan did "act obsessively to protect an imagined natural essence." It protected itself by industrializing. Japan compromised its national identity so that it would not lose it.

Japan was able to compromise its identity because its identity was so unified and easily defined.

Japan did not lose its identity in the modernization process. Porter and Lynch's theories on democratization fit together nicely here. Porter discusses how war in Europe led to the evolution of the modern war-state that Europe spread throughout the world. Some countries responded better to this imposition than others, but no state ran with the idea as fervently as Japan. Japan's reaction is explained by Lynch, who says that Japan acted as any gate-keeper state would. Although Lynch can explain why Japan modernized, he cannot explain why Japan modernized with such intensity. I argue that Japan acted dramatically because of the strength of Japan's national identity. Porter supports this argument when he describes the goal of Meiji leaders. Porter says the goal was to "defeat the barbarian by using the barbarian" (Porter 146).

The country borrowed the administrative style of France and the military style of Germany. It developed an officer training school, borrowed the Western practice of conscription, and created a cabinet. All of these practices led to the democratization of the state, but also aided in the unraveling of the fledgling democracy in the early twentieth century. The Meiji Restoration, which was so obsessed with the industrialization and centralization of the government and military, was not concerned in the least with democracy; it was concerned with protecting the identity of Japan. The Meiji Restoration created the institutions that could house democracy based on its efforts to face the Western threat. Japan wanted to modernize as a form of protection. Any democratization was based on this attempt to appear modern to the West, not to actually give power to the people of Japan.

There was a shift, after Emperor Meiji died in 1912, and the original elites that ruled the new bureaucracy were gradually replaced with younger and more ideologically liberal intellectuals who had an interest in democratizing the country, due to increasing urbanization and the influence of Western ideas. The democratization process lost its original purely responsive and defensive nature. These ideas inevitably influenced younger Japanese elites, despite the lack of interest that the original elites in the Meiji Restoration had in these ideas. Efforts to democratize were facilitated by the young and inept Emperor Taisho who did not try to inhibit the intellectual's efforts. As

the last original "genros," or founding fathers, of the Meiji Restoration died in early 1920's, the Taisho democracy entered its golden age. At this time, suffrage was established for all men, a two party system began to develop, and the prime minister was now expected to be a member of one of the parties represented in the diet (Ishida 7).

Although the threat of the West caused the modernization and democratization process, there were clearly internal processes of democratization occurring during this time period. Japan did not remain a democracy for long. Ishida and Krauss assert that both domestic and international crisis played a role in the disintegration of the Taisho democracy, which ended in 1926. Just like Japan's democratization was sparked by a Western threat, Japan's reversal was sparked by the worldwide economic depression of the early 1930's. The fledgling democracy could not handle this crisis, which revealed weaknesses within the domestic government. The political parties were dominated by big business in the city and the government could not react to the desperate poverty in the countryside, which left the parties without support (Ishida 8). Government simply could not react like older and more stable democracies could. This reveals a pattern. The Tokugawa regime could not handle the Western threat and it was left behind as Japan modernized. Now, the government would shift again to meet the state's new needs.

Not only did the Japanese government face problems at home, but its aggressive foreign policy led to isolation abroad as well, particularly after Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. International isolation combined with the extreme poverty at home mixed to create a good environment for the Japanese to recede from democracy and rally around the Emperor and a nationalist and collectivist mentality. Japan attributed the problems within the country to the worldwide depression. It then was faced with diplomatic isolation when the League of Nations disapproved of the invasion of Manchuria, which led to feelings of alienation and resentment. Rulers trying to transform Japan into a fascist and militarized government easily exploited this hostility at a time of hopeless poverty, which was also attributed to the West. They turned it into anti-western and nationalist propaganda for the masses to rally around.

The weak institutions that hurt Japan's democratiza-

tion effort could not protect the fledgling democracy because Japanese democratization essentially began as a defense policy. When democracy ceased to be a tool to ensure Japanese power on a worldwide scale, democracy ceased to be. The rise of fascism in Europe certainly aided the push away from democracy (8). Right-wing groups began executing terrorist attacks on the government and assassinating officials. They were largely unsuccessful, but these outbursts acted as an excuse for the military to gradually increase its control in the government. After Japan invaded China in 1937, the military took over the government and reorganized it into a fascist state (8). Fascism was different in Japan than in Germany and Italy because it came from above, rather than from a mass movement. So, although Japan certainly looked toward the West and saw examples of fascism, Japan became fascist in its own top-down style which was accomplished by military elites. Authority descending from the top is deep in Japan's Confucian, feudal, and industrializing tradition. In its reversal, Japan reacted to internal and external factors in a way that the Japanese perceived was best to ensure its security and the most amount of power it could achieve on an international scale.

The military success of the new military government helped to ensure the government's stability (33). Mansfield and Snyder say,

"The Japanese army invented a populist ideology, rooted in the nation's imperial myths, designed to solidify the army's links to a rural mass constituency and to denigrate the commercially-oriented Taisho democrats. Thus, the foreign policy of these autocratizing states was at least partially shaped by the character of the democratic political they were escaping" (35).

The military success of the new government was proof that the fascist government could bring Japan security and dominance more effectively than the past government.

The military success did not last. Japan was defeated by the allies in World War II in 1945, which placed the nation back onto the road of democratization. It is impossible to even speculate about what Japan's government would have been like if the United States had not occupied the state, stripped it of its military power and singlehandedly reorganized its government. The United States involvement was all encompassing. Even so, there are a couple of variables besides the

United States' involvement that should be analyzed when discussing the second democratization of Japan in the post World War II era.

Mark E. Pietrzyk discusses the reason that Japan was so willing to be dependent on the United States after World War II. He says:

"The acceptance by...Japan of the status of dependencies does seem to violate the premise that states are always trying to maximize their power. However, it is not so clear that this acceptance is due to democracy. Historically, states have often accepted hegemonic leadership if that leadership is perceived as legitimate and the costs of challenging it appear high" (Pietrzyk 50).

In this selection, Pietrzyk explains his issues with the democratic peace theory: democracies do not go to war against other democracies. Within the context of Japan, Pietrzyk says that if democratic peace theory was true then there would have been no need for the United States to remain in Japan after the democracy was established.

Pietrzyk fails to recognize that democratic peace theory is not going to work if states do not remain democratic. The United States occupied Japan for an extended time period to ensure the stability of the state. Democratization reversed once in Japan in some ways due to Western neglect and it could have happened again if the United States did not remain there. For the same reason, the United States made sure that Japan was totally demilitarized and included in the state's constitution that Japan did not have the right to declare war. If the United States followed the democratic peace theory, then it would not need to worry whether or not Japan had weapons or an ability to wage war. Establishing a democracy does not ensure lasting stability. To ensure peace, the United States made sure another military takeover of the government was not possible.

Japan's strong national identity contributed to the ease in which the military could rally national support for a militaristic agenda. As evidenced by the country's rapid modernization and then rapid militarization, Japan consistently tried to gain as much power as possible on an international scale. After its defeat in World War II, the smartest action for Japan to take in order to gain power for itself was to ally itself with the U.S. hegemon. Although Japan was forced to give up its military power, the nation used its relationship

Neuburgh 18th June 1783

Dear Sir,

The return of Doct^r La Moyner, who has been sick since he came to this place affords me an opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your several letters of the 20th and 30th of May, and of the 1st and 7th inst^s - and to thank you for your attention to the different matters I gave you the trouble of.

If the books which I required in one of my former letters & were not then to be had are now obtainable I should be glad to get them. - and if you could, conveniently, obtain a catalogue of books and their prices in some of the best shops & send them to me I should be obliged to you that I might fix upon such of them as I liked. -

Such articles of Foreign and domestick news as you may receive through a good channel, & shall think worth transmitting I should be glad to have forwarded to me either by letter

letter or in the Gazette. - My compliments to Mr. Benson - Mr. Parker I have written to I shall thank you for giving him the letter - I wish also to be remembered to Mr. Francis. -

With great esteem & regard

I am - D Sir

Pray let me know whether old Mrs. Thompson (our former housekeeper) is in town or not.

G^o Washington

A letter from President Washington to Lieut. Col. Smith, 1783, Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.

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Lieut. Col^o Smith.



A rock resembling George Washington in Sayre Park from 1909. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.

were less on how to create a successful democracy and more on the importance of being a democracy in order to ensure a positive relationship with the United States and a prominent role in the international economy.

Huntington attributes part of Japan's democratization success to the fact that the change was more of a "generational change" than an "opinion change" (265). Although the United States forced a democracy on Japan, the people's support of democracy did not transition as quickly as the actual government did. Huntington argues that it took about two decades for the people to grow into the democracy that the United States created (264). The externally implemented democracy produced supporters of democracy. The new generation was raised within the civil and educational tradition of democracy, and thus it supported the democracy more than the earlier generation who had not been raised in a democratic tradition. The generational change theory explains why democracy stuck in Japan better than the second try theory. If the second try theory held true for the Japanese case, than the first generation would have been more receptive to change and the generational change would have been less prominent.

It is important to note that although the United States implemented democratization, the

external imposition could not change the generation of Japanese who were not used to democracy. There had to be a cultural transition that could only occur with time. Thus, if the United States had created the democracy and left without eliminating the military, it is very possible that the democracy would not have continued. A tradition of democracy is necessary for democracy to remain, especially an externally implemented one. This fact makes the first stage of democratization extremely important. It explains why externally implemented democracies fail in most cases, with the exception of Japan and Germany after World War II where external involvement was more intense than any other case.

Despite United States occupation, Japan's unique form of democracy reflects the nation's traditional values. Japan is historically a Confucian state which stresses the values of "the group over the individual, authority over liberty, and responsibilities over rights...In Japan, Confucian values were reinterpreted and merged with its autochthonous cultural tradition" (300-301). Japan has never had a true party-turnover, which is considered one of the key aspects of democracy, but Japan is universally considered a democracy. It managed to fuse Confucian values with democratic values. From a Western perspective, it seems impossible that a country that does not value liberty can still be a democracy, but no democracy is perfectly democratic. Japan's single-party democracy works within the Japanese culture. There is one brief exception to Japan's one-

party democracy. The collapse of Japan's bubble economy in 1992 triggered Japan's worst recession since the end of WWII, and the 38-year rule of the LPD was ended by a seven-party coalition (Wan 87). The LPD was back in power shortly after, though. The brief period when the LPD was not in power shows that Japan's democracy may develop into a democracy that has more regular party turnover. Still, Japan's single-party democracy shows that even with an externally implemented democracy, Japan's strong identity has not been lost.

Tony Smith argues that one of the reasons the democratization of Japan was successful was because its "modern character as industrial societ[y] had already been established" (Smith 147). Although the first attempt at democratization did not impact the second, the fact that Japan was already modernized did play a large role in the success of the second attempt at democratization.

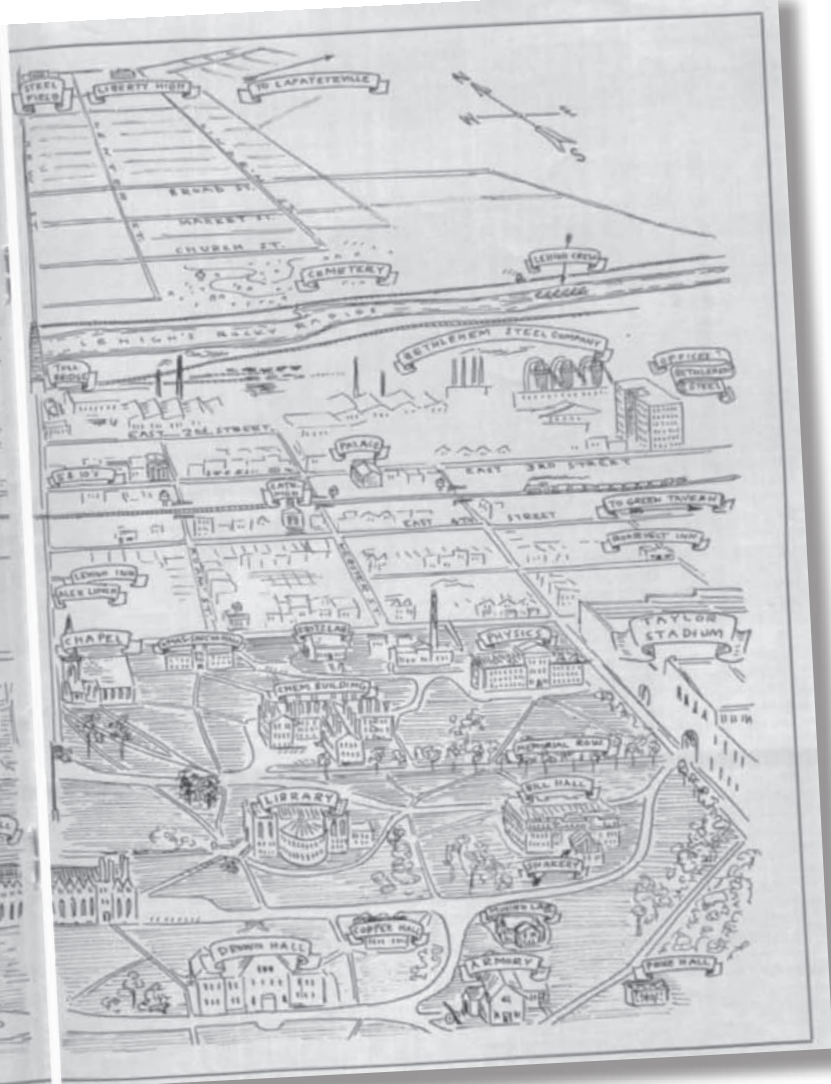
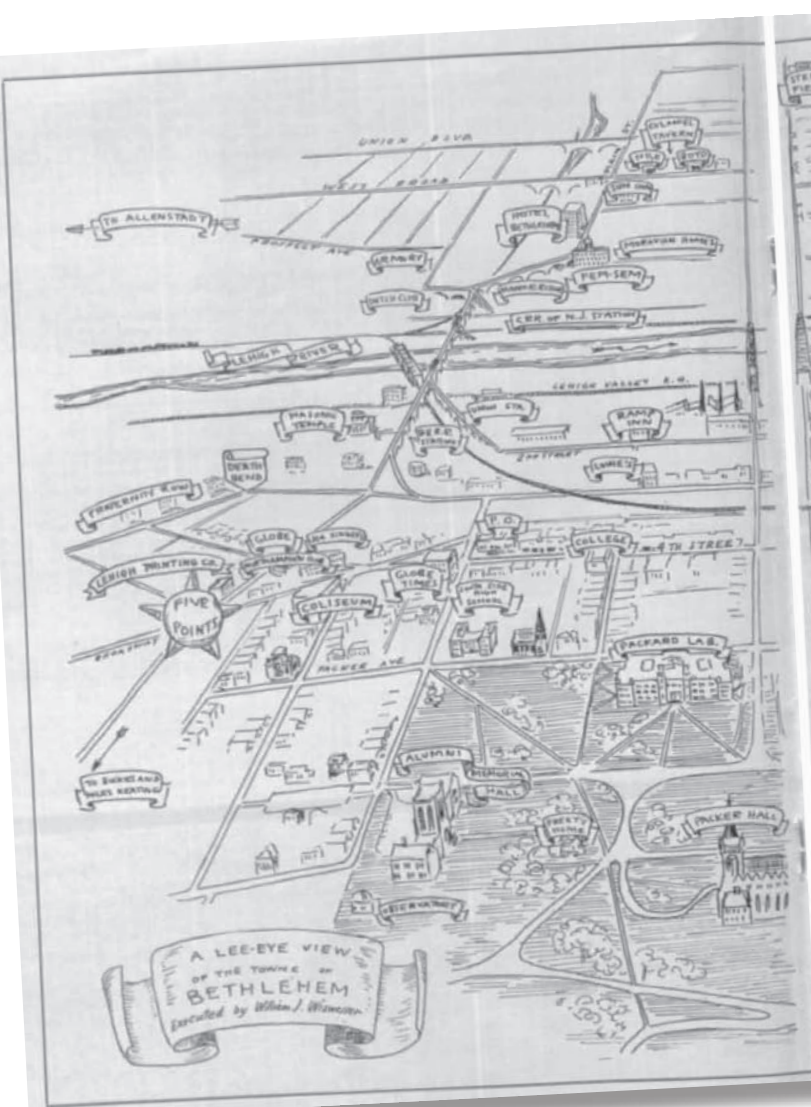
Smith discusses post-World War II Japan as a country that the United States could transform into whatever form it pleased. There were plans to make it a powerless agrarian nation, or a military power that could balance the Soviet Union. In the end, the policy was a compromise between these two extremes: demilitarization, democratization, decartelization, and deprogramming (Smith 154). Democratization was dependent on these other concepts. Smith says, "Occupation authorities had a shared understanding that political reform was the heart of the democratization process" (155). The United States was conscious

of Japan's own democratic tradition, and the new institutions followed more of a British model rather than an American model—another example of how Japan retained its identity throughout the democratization process (157).

The American occupation attempted to change the Japanese identity, though. The turn from militarism and toward democracy was aided by the purge of individuals active during the war. Smith says:

"The fact remains that barring individuals from political and economic life, like preventing the organization of parties, championing the old regime, contributed more than marginally to the promotion of democracy in both countries [Germany and Japan]. The purges allowed new elites to arise and new parties on the democratic right to woo voters who might otherwise have adopted extremist positions away from their wartime sympathies" (158).

Smith discusses that disbanding the military also played a significant role turning Japan away from extremist positions, but these purges were able to set a new tone for the new government. Although there is criticism that the purges could have been more thorough, they contributed to the "generational change" discussed earlier. The United States created a democratic environment, which was received by the new generation. If the most extreme members of the old generation had been able to play active roles in the government, this generational change would not have been possible and it is this change that has allowed stable democracy in Japan.



The Lehigh Review: "A Lee-Eye View". Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries

The United States needed to shift Japan from what it was, a militaristic and fascist state, to a peaceful democracy, but the United States would not and could not totally destroy the Japanese identity. The new constitution, written by MacArthur and his staff, "converted the emperor into a constitutional monarch and abolished the peerage. It vested supreme power in the Diet, now made wholly responsible to the people organized by competitive party elections. A bill of rights was formulated, whose assumptions of individual and group freedom clashed with basic collectivist values enshrined in Japanese culture" (159). It is hard to say whether Japan would have been better or worse off if the bill of rights was more in line with

the nation's collectivist values. Because the Japanese people gradually grew into the institutions that the United States implemented, it did not matter as much what rights were written down.

Japan faced economic problems after the war and the United States placed "exaggerated responsibility" (161) on Japanese industrial and financial firms for the past militarism of the country. The United States struggled to help the economy and break up the country's cartels so that it would be possible for Japan to have a liberal democracy. Unfortunately, "American attempts to address socioeconomic obstacles to

democratization encountered some serious problems: trust-busting, reparations, and purges in Japan... so disrupted economic life that the population grew discounted, which in turn threatened efforts to bring about stable democratic political life" (161). Japan's economy was dominated by zaibatsu (large conglomerates) and destroying the zaibatsu was largely unsuccessful, at least in the long term. The zaibatsu reflect Japanese rather than Western values. The United States was not able to liberalize the Japanese economy to the extent that it wanted partially because of this values clash. Further, the United States reform strategy became more conservative in the early 1950's because of the Korean War and fears of communism.

The United States was successful to an extent and the liberalization of the economy helped to ensure government stability. In particular, Smith says the United States instituted land reform and opened up world markets, while encouraging self-sufficiency to a certain extent. Today, Japan is seen as one of the world's major economic powers. Japan's economic success helps to protect its democracy, contrasting the economic failure that brought about the Taisho Democracy's downfall. Japan's economy had ups and downs in the 1990s, but the democracy remained stable, which is a good sign for the current government.

Smith also discusses the effort to psychologically "deprogram" (166) the Japanese people mostly through education reform so their values would coincide with democratic values. The most effective way to "deprogram" is through the success of the democratic institutions and a liberalized economy. Currently, Japanese textbooks minimize Japan's involvement in World War II. Still, Japan found a way to make the democracy its own, and wield power through the economy rather than the military.

Japan maintained its strong national identity from the Unequal Treaties through the occupation and today. The country is a democracy, but it is its own democracy. It has retained a strong sense of national identity, despite its externally imposed government. Now, the government has fully developed institutions that stabilize the democracy and it is hard to imagine another reversal, especially because it would be disruptive to the large role that Japan has in the world economy. Japan was democratized by the United States, but it has remained and is uniquely Japanese because of Japan's strong and unique national identity.

'I Die Content':

Re-Imagining Slavery with Edgeworth
and Aikin's Devoted Slaves

by Christine Tucker

Packer Hall, The UC (1868)

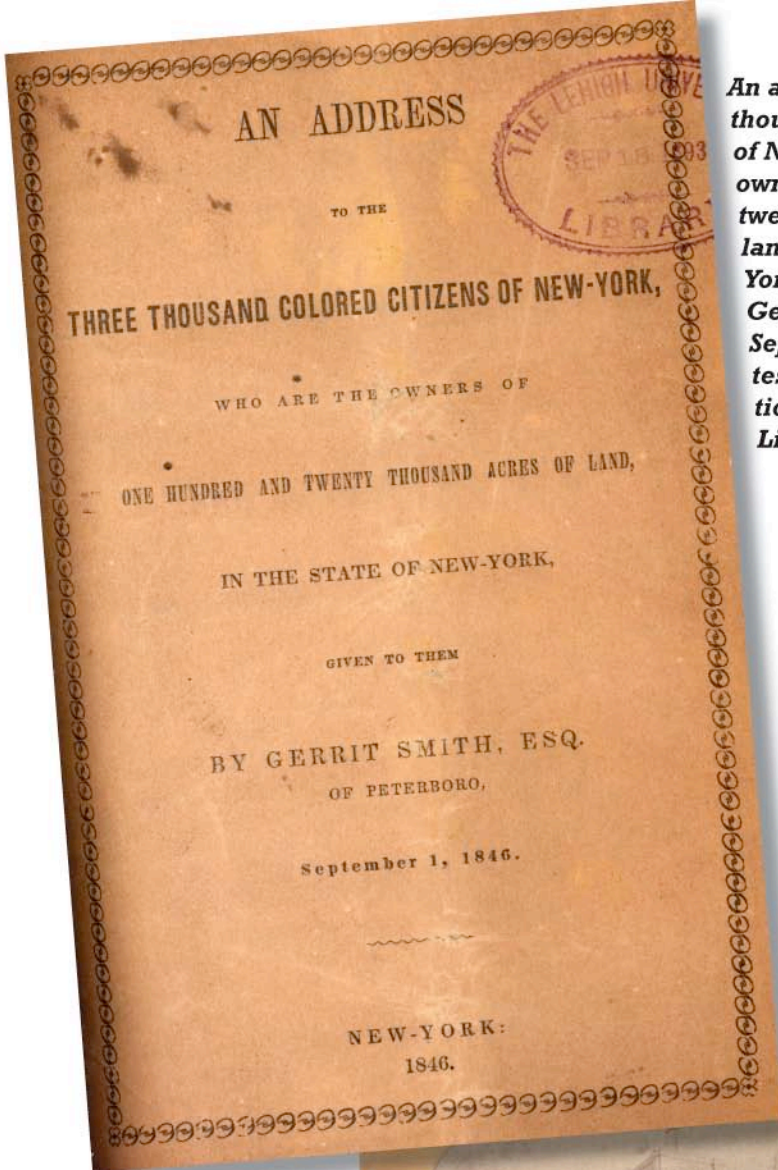
When construction began 1865, a temporary railroad was built to transport stones to the site. After immediate structural problems with the tower, Lehigh hired architect Addison Hutton to design the new one. They liked his work so much that he was eventually hired to design the Linderman Rotunda, the Packer Memorial Church, and the Chandler Chemistry building.

By the end of the nineteenth century, British colonial power extended through Europe, North and Central America, Africa, the Caribbean, and islands in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans: “the British Empire

was territorially the largest empire in world history, its population of over 400 million people to be found in all regions of the globe” (Fulford 2-3). British colonial power extended through Europe, North and Central America, Africa, the Caribbean, and islands in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. But only a century earlier, in the decades preceding its extraordinary expansion, multiple events threatened Britain’s dominion: the nation lost the American colonies; its citizens were shaken by the French revolution and slave rebellions in the West Indies; and it became overwhelmed by a raging debate over the slave trade. During this period, Maria Edgeworth, John Aikin, and Anna Laetitia Barbauld wrote children’s literature that explored issues of slavery, colonialism, and race relations. These authors celebrated loyal, submissive slave-figures in an attempt to appease whites’ fear of black rebellion. Edgeworth’s “The Grateful Negro” (1804), supplemented by “The Transmigrations of Indur” and “Perseverance, against Fortune” from Aikin and Barbauld’s *Evenings at Home* (1794), illustrates the ambiguity that surrounded the issue of slavery. These texts epitomize white man’s struggle to reconcile guilt and doubts about the humanity of slavery, with their awareness

of Britain’s dependence on slave labor and their personal fears of losing control over native people.

Two key points dominated the defense of slavery in the late eighteenth century: one, slavery and the slave trade were vital to Britain’s economic survival; two, Africans were similar to uncivilized, dependent children who needed the “protection” of benevolent masters (Mellor 312). Historical evidence indicates that the first argument was quite valid. In the late eighteenth century, slavery, “Was the most profitable enterprise known to British commerce” (Carey 1). Plantations in the colonies provided Britain with products such as sugar, cotton, rum, and indigo. Even if individuals did not own a plantation or slaves, they relied on slave labor to sustain their lifestyles: “To Britain and its colonies in the mid eighteenth century, commerce was simultaneously the foundation of liberty, power, and refinement” (Carey 1). On a more individual level, planters in the West Indies often depended on African slave labor to repay debts they owed to the Royal Africa Company, which had provided them with investments to establish sugar plantations and estates (Miller). Thus, plantation owners’ relationships with the Company, as well as their livelihoods, relied on slave labor.



An address to the three thousand colored citizens of New York who are the owners of one hundred and twenty thousand acres of land in the state of New York, given to them by Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, September 1, 1846 Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.

Slavery was so important to the British economy that for decades, people willingly overlooked the moral, ethical, and religious implications of maintaining the institution.

While slavery in England was abolished in 1772, the same time period in which Edgeworth, Aikin, Barbauld, and Trimmer wrote their stories, slave trade was still in full force. It is generally accepted that Barbauld was

an abolitionist, but less information is available about her brother's views on slavery. Aikin and Barbauld so closely collaborated on *Evenings at Home* that they never signed their names to distinct pieces. Aikin's daughter, Lucy, claims that Barbauld wrote only fourteen of the ninety-nine stories, though Michelle Levy contends that Barbauld likely contributed much more (130-131). For the purposes of this paper, I will refer to Aikin as the sole author of "The Transmigrations of Indur" and "Perseverance, against Fortune"—pieces that are traditionally credited to him. Arguably, because Aikin and his sister put forth *Evenings at Home* as a joint effort, we might assume that he shared her abolitionist sentiment. Levy asserts that the siblings' refusal to claim individual stories demonstrates that the collection represents their mutual views (131).

The first picture of Lehigh: Stereoscope picture of the last days of the construction of the Packer Hall (now University Center), "Circa 1865" Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.



Little scholarship exists on John Aikin, so we do not know if he was indeed an abolitionist. Regardless, moments in his stories demonstrate an underlying awareness and endorsement of subservient figures' loyalty to their "masters."

Unlike many of the anti-slavery authors of the period, neither Edgeworth nor Aikin emphasizes slaves' dreadful working conditions or slavery's violation of a person's natural rights; rather, their work focuses on the relationships between masters and slaves. It seems that to these authors, the most noteworthy component of slavery is how a slaveholder treats his human property, and how the slave responds to that treatment. "Grateful," "Transmigrations," and "Perseverance" all venerate slave-figures who save their "masters" from attack despite enduring previous suffering at the hands of other men or masters. The first two stories convey much about the authors' expectations of slaves and masters, whereas "Perseverance" informs the discussion of loyalty.

Edgeworth's "The Grateful Negro" tells the story of Caesar, a hard-working, trustworthy slave who, out of gratitude for being bought with his wife, saves his new owner, Mr. Edwards, from a group of rebel slaves. "The Transmigrations of Indur" relates the adventures of a man named Indur who passes through eight lives as various animals—the last (and most noteworthy) as a dog who dies protecting his master from robbers—before finally returning to his human state. "Perseverance, against Fortune" consists of Mr. Hardman's account of his determination to succeed even in the face of adversity. The most relevant section of this story is the description of his time as a slave in Morocco. Shipwrecked and taken captive, Hardman despairs that he will be a slave forever; but when he protects his master from murderous, thieving "villains" who stab him in the process, he is rewarded with his liberty (Aikin, PF 9). Though Caesar, Indur, and Hardman vary in ethnicity (African, Indian, and English, respectively), and sometimes species, their situations parallel one another to a point where we can equate their subservient positions and their heroic actions, to interpret the stories' implications about slavery in the British colonies. As I will elucidate later, I view and will refer to Indur as a "slave" despite (and simultaneously because of) the fact that he is not human. I consider Indur's time as a dog to be a metaphoric slavery; thus, when I discuss "slavery" in relation to "The Transmi-

grations of Indur," I mean the metaphor's implications for the actual institution.

The masters in these texts have such sympathetic characters that readers might overlook the fact that they perpetuate other characters' enslavement. The rebel slave, Hector, criticizes Caesar as one who, "Can be so wrought upon as to forget all the insults, all the injuries he has received from this accursed race," but he does not understand the degree of kindness from which Caesar's loyalty stems (Edgeworth 550). Today, we find it difficult to excuse anyone who owned slaves, but in comparison to other slaveholders, specifically the character of Mr. Jeffries, Edwards is indeed generous. He gives his slaves holidays, provision-grounds, and overtime wages; he takes responsibility for the conditions on his plantation; he refrains from using harsh punishment; and he keeps Caesar and Clara from being parted. Jeffries, on the other hand, is irresponsible: his slaves are seized to pay his personal debts, he never plans ahead for misfortune with his crops, and he ignores the harsh actions of his overseer, Durant. Edwards is forewarned and lives, but he does not completely thwart the rebellion. Consequently, Jeffries' slaves carry out their plan and Durant, "Died in tortures, inflicted by the hands of those who had suffered most by his cruelties" (Edgeworth 555). Jeffries and his family are financially ruined and live in constant fear of future insurrections. Through this story, we can see that Edgeworth clearly differentiates between a good master and a bad one and that there are repercussions for each man's decisions.

Aikin also presents masters who merit their slaves' respect and allegiance. In "Perseverance," Hardman's overseer treats him well and gives him wages, so that Hardman says, "[I] might have passed my time comfortably enough, could I have accommodated myself to their manners and religion, and forgot my native land'" (Aikin, PF 9). The overseer's conduct is good enough that Hardman could have lived tolerably in Morocco. We do not get much insight into Indur's owner's character, but we can see that he is compassionate. As soon as the man sees Indur's wounds, he, "Threw himself by the side of Indur, and expressed the warmest concern" (Aikin, TI 33). Indur actually fluctuates between positions of servitude and authority. He goes from being a master—a human who reigns over the animal kingdom—to multiple sub-human positions as animals. As a human "master," Indur ex-

emphasizes the trait that Edgeworth commends most in Edwards: Indur has a, "Gentleness of disposition and humanity towards all living creatures" (Aikin, TI 1). He does not abuse his power by harming animals; rather, he does everything he can to prevent their suffering. He dies, for the first time, after trying to save a monkey from a serpent. Because they have presented the masters as kind, worthy men, Aikin and Edgeworth imply that such kindness deserves to be repaid with loyalty, even though it is actually a tool of oppression.

The authors clearly extol the slave characters' fidelity, even to

when he defends Edwards during the conflict, receiving a knife-wound in the process. When he wrongly believes that his wound is fatal, "The faithful servant staggered back a few paces: his master caught him in his arms. 'I die content' said he" (Edgeworth 555). Caesar's quasi last words parallel Indur's dying sentiments: Indur's owner (accidentally) fires the shot that kills him, yet, "Indur died licking his [master's] hand" (Aikin, TI 34). In "Perseverance," Hardman is stabbed with a dagger then restored to health thanks to his master's care. All three characters willingly put themselves

Thus, he must remember all the instances when humans killed him. The causes of Indur's deaths (with the name of the animal he is at the time), are as follows: hunter's falcon (antelope), man (goose), cat (mouse), human warfare (elephant), harpooner (whale), suffocation/smoke by beekeeper (bee), man (rabbit). Except for when he is a mouse, Indur meets his demise directly or indirectly at the hands of men. Yet, at the moment when Indur can hark back to those wrongs, he does not. He chooses to protect his owner—a member of the species that caused him so much

By giving readers insight into what it would be like to live as a slave, the authors call attention to and incite change in the institution of slavery.

people who have taken away their basic rights. Caesar and Indur are practically defined by their loyalty. Caesar's devotion to Mr. Edward overpowers his anger, his friendship with Hector, and even his feelings for his fiancée, Clara. Edgeworth explains that Caesar's, "Sense of gratitude and duty could not be shaken by hope, fear, or ambition: nor could it be vanquished by love" (554). Caesar knows that Hector's revolt will likely succeed, but he refuses to participate. Neither the possibility of freedom nor the threat to Clara's life dissuades him. He is even willing to sacrifice his own life: "He would stab himself to the heart, sooner than betray his master!" (Edgeworth 552). Indeed, he proves true to his word

at physical risk for the men that keep them captive, and none bears a grudge for the affliction he endures in the process. On the contrary, these slaves seem pleased to have suffered on their masters' behalf.

Indur, Caesar, and Hardman possess the ability to remember wrongs inflicted on them, but they choose to ignore those injuries for the sake of doing good. Aikin specifically ensures that Indur's memory is preserved as he transmutes from one animal to another. In the story's opening scene, Indur lies dying from a serpent bite, and the monkey he saved turns into a fairy who grants his one wish: "[To] retain a rational soul, with the memory of the adventures I have gone through" (Aikin, TI 4).

suffering. Caesar similarly demonstrates an ability to relinquish vengeful impulses. He puts Mr. Jefferies and Mr. Durant's abuse behind him, and places Mr. Edwards' well-being over his own.

The authors' approbation of Caesar and Indur seems to convey the message that despite a slave's former maltreatment, an exceptionally kind master can win back his trust and devotion to the entire white race. Edwards' benefaction makes Caesar see him as, "One for whose sake all [whites] must be spared" (Edgeworth 550). As a member of the Koromantyn tribe, Caesar had been taught his entire life that revenge is a virtue, but he releases all vengeful impulses once he is treated humanely. Hector somewhat complicates

the argument because even after Edwards pardons him, he is, "Incapable...of listening to anything but revenge" (Edgeworth 555). Presumably, Hector's character is vengeful because he has never personally experienced white benevolence. By the time Edwards forgivingly addresses him, Hector is at the point of no return. He has endured excessive brutality, as Edgeworth explains: "Durant, the overseer, did not scruple to use the most cruel and barbarous methods of forcing the slaves to exertions beyond their strength" (547). Durant's conduct is brutal enough to harden Hector to any future acts of kindness. Therefore, with Caesar and Hector, Edgeworth simultaneously shows the optimistic possibility of winning slaves over with compassion and the reality that slaves have a threshold for the amount of cruelty they will endure before they irreversibly abhor the white race.

By writing about a heroic, loyal slave, Edgeworth may have been trying to calm children's (and parents') anxieties about the "Potentially violent nature of African slaves" (Roth 85). Slave rebellions like Hector's periodically occurred in the colonies. The largest and most deadly revolt took place in 1791 on the French Island of St. Domingue—which would, as a result of a thirteen year long struggle, become the free black republic of Haiti, in 1804. As a Protestant in a largely Catholic Ireland, Edgeworth wrote "The Grateful Negro" eleven years after the initial revolt, "In the turbulent wake of the French Revolution and shortly after the chaos of peasant uprisings in Ireland (1798)

which had driven her family to a nearby Protestant stronghold" (Botkin 195). She had seen social rebellion first hand, and with the knowledge of the St. Domingue bloodbath, composed a text that addressed the very real threat of black insurgence. "The Grateful Negro" indicates that whites' greatest fear was blacks' capacity to rise up and harm them, either physically or by removing their power. The crux of the story is Hector's planned revolt against all the white men, women, and children in Jamaica. If he had succeeded, every white person on the island would have been killed, and the slaves would have gained control. Caesar's prevention of the massacre reassures readers that despite the existence of extremely violent and vengeful slaves, once people re-evaluate and amend their treatment of the African race, enough slaves will be attached to and protective of whites to ensure their safety.

Slaves' loyal acts in "Transmigrations," "Perseverance," and "Grateful" are paired with alternative scenarios in which the white masters and their families are potential victims of violence. Though Indur technically only saves his owner, the ruffians attack the man "near his own house" where his wife and children slept (Aikin, TI 32). Mr. Hardman makes "a loud outcry to alarm the family" of the villains' presence, and Caesar alerts Mr. Edwards, who, readers know, had brought his family into the company of slaves earlier that evening (Aikin, PF 10). The coupling of the whites' salvation with hints of an alternative outcome shows that an obedient

slave can save you and your loved ones, whereas a slave's refusal to defend you puts you all at risk.

The decision to place family members in danger emphasizes the way that whites attributed brutal determination and capacity for violence to slaves—slaves willing to kill (or let someone else kill) an entire family in cold-blooded revenge. As previously mentioned, Hector and Caesar are indigenous Africans who value vengeful instincts. Edgeworth shrouds their native culture in mystery and magic to imply that the violence Hector embodies is an inherent aspect of the African race. The character of Esther, the Obeah sorceress, especially highlights the slaves' dangerous qualities. Because of her connection to the African belief system, Obeah, Esther represents African mystique, witchcraft, and healing (Botkin 203). Immediately following the description of Esther's supposed "supernatural powers," Edgeworth tells us that she, "Stimulated the revengeful temper of Hector almost to a phrenzy," thus instigating the plan for insurrection (551). Additionally, the final confrontation between Edwards' and the rebel slaves occurs outside of Esther's house. Esther embodies all that is foreign to white society, and by connecting her to rebellion, Edgeworth makes her, and hence the presence of African culture on plantations, threatening.

Frances R. Botkin rightly calls attention to the importance of names in "The Grateful Negro." Esther, whose name conjures the biblical woman who saved the Jews, seems to have a similar, albeit fleeting, capacity to free

the slaves. Botkin writes of the men, "Caesar's name reverberates with at least dual meaning: he is simultaneously the giver of empire and the destroyer of republic. Hector's name, too, conjures unsettling images. Unquestionably defeated, but the primeval ancestor of empire, Hector denotes a noble cause that anticipates future success" (Botkin 206). Caesar is the "giver," or savior, of Edwards' plantation "empire," and the "destroyer" of Hector's imagined slave "republic." Hector is indeed defeated, but Edgeworth's text centers on the frightening possibility that he could have been, or will eventually be, successful. Appropriately, Indur's name reinforces the idea of selflessness: phonetically, "Indur" is similar to "endure." Edgeworth even spells "endure" as "indure" in "The Grateful Negro" (553). Abraham Bayley—the only character to have a first and last name in Edgeworth's tale—is a gentle overseer who agrees with and cares more about enacting Edwards' humane views than getting the most work out of the slaves. Bayley's first name connotes the biblical patriarch, and assuming that he is white --which most overseers were-- reinforces the story's theme that paternalistic benevolence is the most appropriate treatment of slaves.

A significant difference between "The Grateful Negro" and Aikin's stories is that Edgeworth never grants her slave characters freedom, whereas Aikin does. Even though Caesar saves Mr. Edwards, the master (and perhaps Edgeworth) is still wary of giving up control over him. Such an ending exposes Edgeworth's overall meliorist position. Aikin's plot decision, though, reveals a quasi abolitionist agenda. In the last paragraph of "Transmigrations," Aikin writes of Indur: "So generous a nature was now no longer to be annexed to a brutal form" (34). The word "annex" connotes an appropriation of land, which is what Britain did in the West Indies and India. Like Indur, once the people of that land prove loyal to their superiors, they might be freed from their sub-human status. Mr. Hardman is also rewarded with his freedom, which suggests that slaves should be emancipated, but only after they have proven their attachment to the white race—only after whites are sure that rebellion will not ensue. "Perseverance, against Fortune" takes more of an abolitionist stance by recognizing the hardships of slaves. Hardman's shipmates die from, "The thought of perpetual servitude, together with the hard treatment," and he later says, "I have heard persons talk

as if there was little in being a slave but the name; but they who have been slaves themselves, I am sure will never make light of slavery [sic] in others" (Aikin, PF 7-8). Hardman does not further condemn the institution, however, so readers and his child listener, Theodore, focus more on Hardman's response to his situation than the situation's inherent injustice.

George E. Boulukos effectively argues that "The Grateful Negro" is "Edgeworth's attempt to re-imagine slavery as humane" (13). In response to his interpretation, Botkin asserts that the story actually reveals Edgeworth's desire for slavery to be abolished, but through a gradual process that would benefit both master and slave (206). Though Botkin makes some excellent points, the textual evidence supports Boulukos' position overall. Botkin uses Mr. Edwards' comment to Mr. Jeffries—"The right should make the law"—to argue that the text takes a moderate abolitionist stance (201; Edgeworth 548). She ignores, however, the implication of Edwards' personal inaction—he does not free Caesar, or any other slave, even after Caesar saves his life. If Edwards truly represented the abolitionist position, he would cease dealing in slavery, no matter what the cost. The fact that he keeps Caesar enslaved shows that the issue of importance is not that his slaves become free men, but that they become loyal men. Instead of giving them their freedom, Edwards tries, "To make [his] negroes as happy as possible" (Edgeworth 548). Edgeworth's emphasis on Mr. Edwards' efforts toward "the melioration of the state of slaves" eclipses his brief mention that plantation-owners should consider slaves' interests and that slaves could be replaced with wage laborers (547).

Edwards' hesitation about abolition stems from the concern that even if slaves were freed, they would continue to threaten whites' control. When Edgeworth and Aikin wrote, emancipation was by no means an inevitable event. Read together, their texts present a sympathetic, meliorist position on slavery, but they are certainly not abolitionist. "The Grateful Negro" defends the need for slavery's continuation, primarily because of the indeterminable effects of emancipation. Besides the chance that unowned (thus, uncontrolled) slaves would violently rebel, another apologetic argument was that emancipated blacks would not be able to survive without whites' guidance; they were better off enslaved. For example, Mr. Edwards, "Wished that there were no such thing as slavery in

the world; but he was convinced...that the sudden emancipation of the negroes would rather increase than diminish their miseries" (Edgeworth 547). This logic reflects Kipling's "white man's burden" idea that European influence and control actually betters other races. This justification lessens people's guilt and, to them, excuses the inhumanity of slavery. Moments in "The Grateful Negro" do imply that the slaves actually wanted to be cared for. When Jeffries tells Edwards that he lets Durant manage his slaves, Edwards replies, "That is the very thing of which they complain" (Edgeworth 548). Edwards suggests that the slaves want their master to be more involved in



(Right) The Lehigh Campus and the city of Bethlehem circa 1915-1919. Photo taken from Packer Hall, probably from the tower. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.



(Above) Students hauling material for the Lehigh/Lafayette bonfire up the hill, circa 1915-1919. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.

their lives. Of course, they want Durant's abuse to stop, but Edwards also implies that they want their master to take responsibility for them, much like a parent would for a child. Similarly, when Indur is in his "master" position as a man, Aikin writes, "If he saw any opportunity of exercising his benevolence towards animals in distress, he never failed to make use of it" (TI 2). Here, Indur is very much like Edwards, who rescues Caesar and Clara when they are in distress. Paternalistic behavior moves the slaves and animals to such a degree that they repay their masters: Edwards receives Caesar's devotion, and Indur gets his dying wish granted by a fairy.

Parallel to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century discourse on the slave trade was the emerging animal rights movement. For some, an animal's status as "thing" justified treating them poorly, but as the century progressed, more and more people promoted and accepted the argument that animals experienced suffering. In 1822, Commons passed the Bill for More Effectually Preventing Malicious and Wanton Cruelty to Animals (Ellis 94). Sarah Trimmer is one author whose work teaches children the importance of being kind to animals. In *Fabulous Histories*, she portrays animals experiencing emotional and physical pain, and the maternal human character, Mrs. Benson, encourages her children to imagine themselves in animals' places. When Mrs. Benson's son, Frederick, expresses a desire to catch a bird, his mother disapproves. She asks Frederick if he treasures his freedom to run about and play with

his friends, and says, "Though these little animals are inferior to you, there is no doubt but they are capable of enjoyments similar to these" (Trimmer 31). Mrs. Benson incites empathy in child readers in an attempt to improve their treatment of animals. If children can imagine themselves as animals, they will be less inclined to harm them. By attributing the ability to feel pleasure to animals, Mrs. Benson humanizes them but simultaneously reinforces the idea that they are inferior.

Her daughter, Harriet, asks Mrs. Benson why, if capturing birds is wrong, did she once keep a canary in a cage. Mrs. Benson proceeds to explain: "The case is very different in respect to Canaries, my dear...By keeping them in a cage I do them a kindness. I consider them as little foreigners who claim my hospitality...as they are always here bred in cages, they do not know how to procure the materials for their nests abroad. And there is another particular which would greatly distress them were they to be turned loose, which is, the ridicule and contempt they would be exposed to from other birds" (Trimmer 32).

Mrs. Benson believes that her actions benefit the canary; she makes caging the bird seem like the humane deed. The bird needs to be taken care of by a person or else it will either die or be harassed by other birds. Mrs. Benson's rationalization echoes the "white man's burden" concept that was hinted at in "The Grateful Negro." Mrs. Benson also says that when she confined the canary, "I kept it some years, but not choosing to confine her in a little

cage, had a large one bought" (Trimmer 33). She calls the captivity "deliverance," but in reality, it is a form of enslavement. Just as Mr. Edwards believes that he is diminishing blacks' miseries by keeping them enslaved, Mrs. Benson believes that the canary is better off in the cage. Trimmer places emphasis on "little" and "large" to show that to Mrs. Benson, the bird's degree of freedom is important. Again, similar to Edwards, Mrs. Benson is not generous enough to completely free her captive, but she is more generous than other captors, which lessens her guilt.

In "The Grateful Negro," Mr. Jeffries considers slaves to be, "'A race of beings naturally inferior'...a different species from himself" (Edgeworth 549). Though Edgeworth demonizes Jeffries and his beliefs, she never grants Caesar complete human status; rather, he remains enslaved despite his valiant actions. Even though Caesar and his fellow slaves are human, they remain owned and sometimes treated as animals. Similarly, on the interior, Indur is a man—his wish guarantees that his human identity is preserved as he becomes different animals—but on the exterior, he is an animal, and is treated as such. As a dog, Indur is a close human companion, but until the story's end he is still shy of being one of their species; he occupies a sub-human position of servitude. Aikin tells us that Indur's owner acquires him as a, "Faithful guard for his house and grounds" (TI 30). Indur is essentially a slave with limited freedom and an obligation to serve his master, which he willingly does.

Aikin writes, “Indur presently attached himself to his master and all his family, and showed every mark of a noble and generous nature” (TI 30). Indur’s identity depends on and is defined by his master. Without his owner, he would have no reason or chance to exercise his loyalty, and therefore no chance to be humanized—literally restored to human form. It is only through his relationship with a person of higher social (and species) status that he is recognized as a feeling being.

The issue of whether or not slaves were regarded as human is complicated. As Markman Ellis explains, “The controversy over slavery caused by the abolition

it would be like to live as a slave, the authors call attention to and incite change in the institution of slavery. Boulukos acknowledges the sentimental tradition in abolition literature, and contends that sentimentalism was also used by apologists for slavery (24). He argues that Edgeworth depicts slaves as feeling beings so that white readers can discern how to better control them (13). Once whites recognize slaves’ ability to suffer, they can manipulate that suffering to their advantage. Boulukos’ argument is valid, but in terms of textual evidence, it is more useful to examine how Edgeworth’s (and to a degree Aikin’s) use of sentimentalism influences

his ability to sympathize with the slaves. Indeed, his recognition and treatment of Caesar as a human with the capacity for suffering are what cements Caesar’s loyalty to him (Boulukos 14). He “was moved by [Caesar and Clara’s] entreaties” so he buys them both (Edgeworth 548). The passage directly following the purchase oozes with sentimentalism. Edgeworth writes: “[Caesar’s] feelings were at this instant so strong that he could not find expression for his gratitude: he stood like one stupified [sic]! Kindness...overpowered his manly heart; and, at hearing the words ‘my good friend,’ the tears gushed from his eyes...Gratitude swelled in his bosom; and he longed to be

The grateful slave is like a dog—he is enslaved to a master, yet he helps that master retain control over other slaves.

debate focused attention on the question of the boundary between animals and humans, things and not things” (107). Though some whites undoubtedly considered slaves to be people, but of a lower social order, the most common interpretation is that due to the way they were bought, sold, caged, and abused, they were considered non-human commodities. A large part of the abolition movement was to humanize slaves—to make the public view them as men, women, and children who experienced human emotions and responses just as whites did. Abolitionists used the same technique that Mrs. Benson does to make her children treat animals kindly. By giving readers insight into what

the characters’ sympathetic relationships.

Ellis provides fascinating insight into objects with “it-status” and the concept of sympathy in eighteenth-century England. He describes sympathy as, “An act of imagination in which we project ourselves into the place of another” (Ellis 102). Edgeworth immediately presents Caesar as a human character to whom readers and other characters might relate. The first indication of Caesar’s presence in the text is “the voice of distress” and loud “lamentations”; readers then encounter Clara “weeping bitterly” (Edgeworth 547-8). We can reasonably assume that Edwards’ meliorist attitudes about slavery stem from

alone, that he might freely yield to his emotions” (549). Edgeworth’s description of Caesar’s emotional reaction shows that he is not an unfeeling piece of property; he is a man with the same emotions as the readers.

Ellis explains that the sympathetic relationship between animals and humans has a “problem with reciprocity” because animals cannot feel the same sympathy for humans that humans feel for them (103). Without the potential for mutual sympathy, people resist sympathizing with animals; they know that there is nothing in it for them, so to speak. Another factor that complicates the relationship is the species divide. A man can imagine himself as another man

more easily than he can imagine himself as a dog (Ellis 104). In the context of slavery, if slaveholders view their slaves as animals, they will not sympathize with them, and consequently treat them badly. Likewise, as a result of masters' cruel treatment, slaves will be unwilling, and perhaps unable, to sympathize with whites, and therefore more disposed to violent rebellion. Hector represents the result of this cause and effect relationship: because whites have dehumanized him, he has no sympathy for them, and is willing to cause them great suffering. Conversely, treating slaves kindly—as Edwards does to Caesar—would restore the mutually sympathetic relationship between slaves and masters, securing whites' safety in the process. Thus, it makes sense that Edgeworth, whose text is so concerned with rebellion, would include sentimental scenes that humanize slaves and show the positive result of a sympathetic relationship between master and slave.

Aikin's decision to have Indur display his loyalty as a dog is not accidental. More than any other creature, dogs have close relationships with humans. The familiar maxim "a dog is a man's best friend" conveys the exact sentiment of "Transmigrations."

Ellis quotes Ralph Beilby, author of *General History of Quadrupeds* (1790), as believing that the "key" to the history of the dog is the following: "Mankind's rise to preeminence and domination over the animals had only been possible through the assistance of 'one so bold, so tractable, and so obedient as the Dog,' without whose aid man could not have 'conquered, tamed, and reduced other animals into slavery.' Mankind was master, but only because of the faithful role of his

***Gathering for a graduation ceremony circa 1915-1919.
Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University
Libraries.***

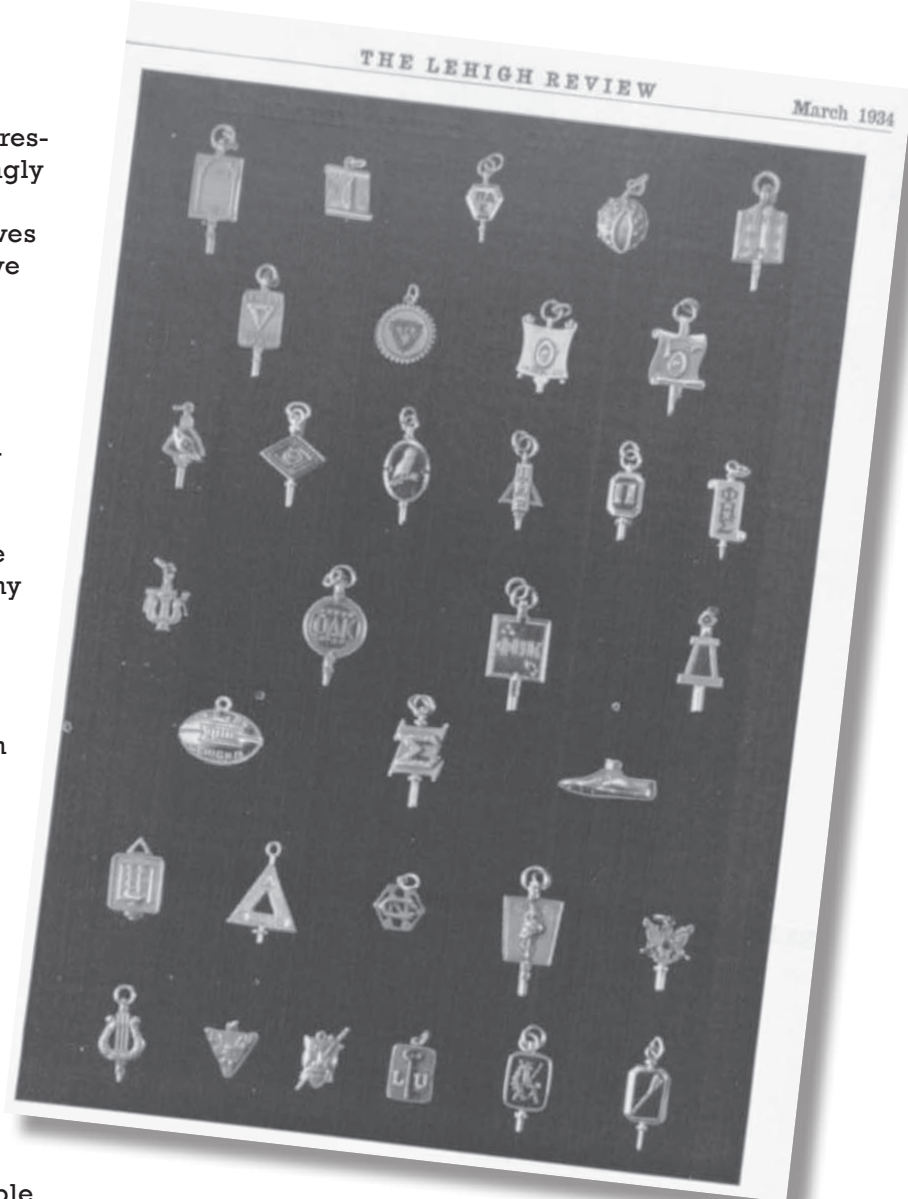


gang-master and enslaver, the dog" (qtd. in Ellis 92). The grateful slave is like a dog—he is enslaved to a master, yet he helps that master retain control over other slaves. Aikin writes that Indur dies with "the satisfaction of seeing his master remain lord of the field" (TI 33). The language here conjures an image similar to that of Mr. Edwards reigning over his plantation—a condition that Caesar preserves. Significantly, the fact that the stories' slave-figures are in British colonies gives them a degree of influence over all of Britain. Colonialism, unlike the institution of slavery, which removed individuals from their countries, worked to, "Control people who lived in viable, if momentarily defeated communities" (Miller). Though Caesar is an African who has been brought to Jamaica, he plays a key role in maintaining European control over the island. Without slaves' cooperation, the colonies in India and the West Indies would fall apart and power

would return to the native people.

Indur and Caesar's compliance in their own oppression reiterates the message that slaves could willingly accept their inferior position. By warning Edwards about the rebellion, Caesar prevents his fellow slaves from gaining control of the island, which would have put him on the path to freedom. As Botkin says, "In choosing being grateful over being free, Caesar embraces this paternalism" (201). He perpetuates inequality for himself and the other slaves. Caesar never once complains about being a slave; rather, he seems perfectly happy with his condition. Indur is also content as a dog, presumable because he is well-treated. He loves his family, so when the children: "Use him as roughly as their little hands were capable of," he, "Never, even when hurt, [shows] any displeasure further than by a low growl" (Aikin, TI 31). By portraying submissive, silent slave-figures, Edgeworth and Aikin evade discussion of the inhumanity of slavery. If blacks did not seem to want equal rights, or even to be free, then the, "Question of whether they deserved those rights [became] wholly irrelevant" (Roth 107).

The common, underlying fact of all interpretations of Aikin and Edgeworth's texts is that they were intended for children. We cannot expect that children would have seen the slavery metaphor in "The Transmigrations or Indur," but what would they have taken away from "The Grateful Negro?" Primarily, they would have received a lesson about race relations instructing them to treat slaves and other races kindly, as humans. But embedded in the message of benevolence lies the implication that other races are inferior to whites. As Sarah N. Roth puts it, "The young people who perused these texts encountered a model of race relations that was at once highly affable and blatantly unequal" (89). The slaves seem relatively content, and the masters benefit in the best possible way (by staying alive), but white Europeans remain in control. If the slave trade and slavery in the colonies were abolished, late-eighteenth-century children would grow up to be the first generation of adults to interact with an entirely free black race. From messages like the one in "The Grateful Negro," they would likely expect blacks to serve and obey them, as humans and paid laborers if not as slaves. Roth reasonably contends that Edgeworth and Aikin may, "Have been suggest-



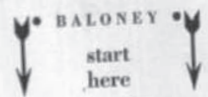
**Key society pins, *Lehigh Review* 1934.
Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University
Libraries.**

ing to the capitalists of the next generation a way to avoid social upheaval on the part of the lower classes that would make up their workforce" (81). They make children sympathize with slaves, but only to the point where they will treat them better, not emancipate them.

The primary indicator of Aikin and Edgeworth's meliorist positions is their lack of attention to the injustice of slavery. Levy states that Evenings at Home

BURSAR'S RECEIPT

It has been estimated that every Lehigh man spends 7/9 of his career at school filling blanks for registration, enabling the school to know how much he owes his whereabouts at any time of day, to know his family history, who his friends are, and how much he owes. Yet twice a year our innocent campus is invaded by members of the fairer sex, who make their bold entrance



OUT OF BOUNDS

1

Name
(last name second, second name third, middle name fourth)

Color Hair.....

If blond, answer the following:
1. Address?
2. Telephone number?

If brunette, answer the following:
1. Who the hell asked you to houseparty?
2. What are chances of a blond rinse coming to the rescue?

Size of feet Flat feet?
(in acres) (no or yes)

Do you wear shoes in the summer?.... Number of toes
(to nearest tenth)

Remarks: Do you have corns?
(yes or no)

When did you first walk..... first kiss
(year, month) (don't be naive)

2 (Reader assunder, along this line)

(For Frons and Bite) (For Sear & Rockbuck's Catalog)

Did your mother come from Ireland?..... Social Security Number
Is there something 'bout your Irish?..... Draft Number
Mother's kindergarten Tires on your old man's car
Father's hobby If more than seven, please report to the nearest jail; also see your dentist twice a year.
How did you manage to keep the truth about Houseparty from them? Have you ever been to a place so cheap as not to give their dates flowers?
(yes or no)

Or do you know the truth? If so, in what part of Africa was it located?.....
(YOU WILL) Religious preference
How much money do you have with you?.... (yes or no)
(embarrassing, isn't it?) Do you want to set the world on fire?.....
If so, where do you keep it?..... (You've come to the right campus)

without so much as filling in one little blank. To eliminate the obvious horrors of this immoral situation—think of it: two (2) days and no blanks—here is the proposed entrance sheet to be filled out, by your dates on Friday of Houseparty, eliminating not only flowers for the big dance, but also the big dance on the first night of houseparty.

LADIES ONLY

(strew apart, along this line)

3 STATEMENT OF FEES

	Cash	Spiritual
Fine, skipping USO dance	\$4,000.25	2 years imprisonment
Loss on student tires	0.01	
Sleep tax at 45c per hour of sleep	450.56	
Biology lab fee	2.00	
Amusement tax	2.00	
Defense stamp corgage tax, at 25c a bunch35	
Payment for kindly reading <i>Brown and White</i>	-\$5.00	
Necking is a contact sport—Athletic fee	2.00	1 week chapel
"Grand Total \$4,000.00		

Name
(first, last and always—address, telephone)
Bursar's stamp goes here

(Tear like hell across line)

4 For Athletic Department

Miss..... did you know Lehigh has a football team?.....
father graduate from Lehigh?.....
Aren't you glad that this is spring, and that you don't have to watch Mt. Holyoke heat our varsity?.....
How do you look in a bathing suit.....
Could you sign up a few friends at the gym, some time soon?.....
Forearm diameter..... Neck
(in rods) (Size, not 'yes' or 'no')

How many letters did you WIN already yet?

Check letter sport:
1. Strip teasing.....
2. Sunday school team (I'm just kidding girls).....
3. Sugar daddying.....
4. My My.....
(YOU'RE FINISHED, DARLING)

SEPTEMBER MOURN

EWV

encouraged children to be engaged participants in political dialogue, and to, "Become critical observers of and, where necessary, vocal resisters to authority" (123). The problem is that because Indur's owner, Hardman's overseer, and Mr. Edwards treat their "slaves" well, children do not see a reason to question their authority. Finally, the texts present one more justification for Caesar and Indur's enslavement, which is that they are inferior due to their lack of

Lehigh Bachelor: House party issue April 1942, "Bursars Receipt", Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries

reason (Boulukos 20). Both Hector and Caesar are engulfed by their passions, revenge and gratitude, respectively. They are driven by purely emotional response. As the stories end, Aikin and Edgeworth reiterate the slave characters' irrationality. Indur becomes human, "awakening as it were from a trance;" Clara, once Esther's potion wears off, "wakened from

her trance," and Caesar, "thought he was still in a dream" (Aikin, TI 34; Edgeworth 555). Trance and dream-like states completely oppose clear-headed, rational thinking, so to say that the slave figures occupied those states throughout the text is to underscore their irrationality. Suggestions of irrationality never surround the masters in these stories. In fact, Edgeworth actually points out that reason is one of Mr. Edwards' traits: "His benevolence

therefore confined itself within the bounds of reason" (547). Edwards is admirable because he thinks rationally, whereas the slaves are lower and less human because they do not. In the late eighteenth century, reason was highly valued and emphasized. In his treatise on childhood education, *Emile: or, On Education* (1762), Jean-Jacques Rousseau asserts that the ultimate goal of education was to turn a child into a reasonable, self-sufficient adult. With that context, children might have seen the slave characters' irrationality as evidence of their deficiency.

Readers of "The Grateful Negro," "Perseverance, against Fortune," and "The Transmigrations of Indur" encounter slave characters who willingly serve benevolent masters to the detriment of their own well-being. Edgeworth and Aikin—whether or not they identified themselves, or were identified by others, as abolitionists, apologists, or meliorists—produced texts that acknowledged the inhumanity of slavery, but were complicated by a latent fear of the aftermath of emancipation. Images of grateful, compliant slaves lessened white readers' fears of slave rebellions, arguably making them more sympathetic to slaves' circumstances; but such images did not go so far as to incite abolitionist sentiment. Like Mrs. Benson in Trimmer's *Fabulous Histories*, Edgeworth and Aikin seem to justify slavery with a "white man's burden" attitude, glossing over the issue of inequality and focus on a kind of slavery that, to them, seems to benefit both master and slave. The stories' implication for European children

is that if they want to sustain power over blacks, they cannot treat them as inhumanely as Durant and Jefferies do; instead, they must be as benevolent as Mr. Edwards.



The Decline of Democracy in Venezuela:

The Deterioration of Venezuelan Exceptionalism
and the Rise of Hugo Chávez

by Meredith Aach

Leopard Paw Print

Lehigh's first student body consisted of 39 boys. From 1871 to 1891 no tuition was charged, but the national financial crisis at the turn of the century decimated the value of the Lehigh Valley Railroad stock that Packer had given to Lehigh, which was the principal source of income.

Frisbee Golf Course

Right on South Mountain tucked into the Saucon Park are 18 'holes' that meander through cleared woods. The rules of the game are identical to golf with one exception: land the disc in the basket rather than the ball in the hole.

Many view Venezuela as a country with a nationalist authoritarian leader where democratic governance has steadily been on the decline. In 2007, a United States-based organi-

zation that focuses on advocacy for and research on democratic rule, political freedom, and human rights around the world, ranked Venezuela as a 4 on a scale from 1 to 7, 1 being the most free and 7 being the least free. This number has risen from 1.5 in 1986 and 2.5 in 1998 (Freedom House, 2007). There has been a suppression of opposition from workers of Petróleos de Venezuela Sociedad Anónima (PDVSA), the state oil company, and the closing down of RCTV, one of the country's oldest television stations and critic of Hugo Chávez's regime. President Chavez's political agenda, reforms, and his moves to strengthen the presidency have led some to wonder for how long democracy will last in Venezuela. The proposition that Venezuela is a model democracy has seemed to have completely disappeared. What has led to the decline in democratic governance in Venezuela?

The impact of oil is one reason cited for Venezuela's move to the left and its move away from democracy. Many contend that oil serves as an impediment to development for political, economic, and cultural reasons. Politically, oil encourages rent-seeking behavior, corruption, and depending on the timing of oil production; it can prevent strong institutions

and an environment of democratic governance from developing and continuing. Economically, the Dutch disease, the phenomenon where an inflow of money from natural resource wealth leads to currency appreciation, hurts domestic industry, economies tend to be less diversified, and countries often depend on the volatile oil industry for public spending and development. This allows vulnerabilities to exist which can intensify in times of crisis, increasing public dissatisfaction. Culturally, dependence on oil prevents a relationship of accountability from developing between the government and its people because of the lack of a taxation system. It also fosters a culture of consumerism ignoring the systemic and structural issues that hinder equitable growth and development (Hellinger, 1994; Karl, 1997; Ross, 2001; Schubert, 2006).

Many theorists attribute the decline in democratic governance and in protecting civilians' freedoms to the "oil curse" (Friedman, 2006; Ross, 2001). However, the history of oil is unique to each country and needs to be explored in the context of other political, economic, and social conditions. First, one must understand the process of state building concurrent with the finding and excava-



The Lehigh Review: “Chesterfield Are Milder”, Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries

maintained almost unlimited power because of a lack of checks and balances established in the process of state development. Furthermore, factionalism, “partyarchy” and the formation of a pacted democracy allowed for the illusion that Venezuela had established a stable and honest democracy with representative rule (Ellner, Salas, et al., 2007; Karl, 1997). This illusion of a legitimate democracy ran parallel to the ideals of Western-style democracy and became known as “Venezuelan exceptionalism”; the idea that Venezuela avoided the crises plaguing the rest of the hemisphere including tendencies to authoritarian rule, civil strife, and weak political institutions (Ellner, Salas, et al., 2007; Levine, 1994). In the mind of the United States government, Venezuela became the exception and model that other countries in Latin America, who were dealing with racial conflict, military dictatorships, and political instability, should follow. However, this illusion broke down in the 1980s under the weight of increasing debt, worsening impoverishment, and greater disillusionment with traditional “democratic” institutions.

Venezuelan exceptionalism, according to Ellner and Salas, rested upon three principles. First, Venezuela was economically “privileged” when comparing the country to others in Latin America. Second, it remained relatively free from class and racial conflicts that often hurt stability elsewhere in the region. Finally, the system of democracy and the political system were viewed as “healthy and solid” by the United States and other Western countries (2007, p. 5). This paper will focus on the third principle by addressing why Venezuela was accepted as a “model democracy,” why this idea was ultimately rejected, and how this has led to declining democratic governance in Venezuela today.

Venezuela was viewed as having a healthy democracy because of the relative stability maintained since the country’s initial democratic regime until the mid-1970s. Venezuela’s centralized government, power-sharing agreements among the elites, and the support from oil income, determined this stability (Levine, 1994; Karl, 1997; Ellner, Salas, et al., 2007). However, this viewpoint was grounded in faulty assumptions and allowed for the government to avoid dealing with serious problems. The embedded vulnerabilities of the Venezuelan state system became apparent with the onset of the financial crises of the 1980s. The

tion of oil. Second, the way in which oil has affected political institutions, especially the political parties, can provide significant insight. Third, one must also evaluate how oil development and changes in governance have impacted local public opinion, which has reflected strong support for the internationally criticized Chávez regime.

Overturning Venezuelan Exceptionalism

In Venezuela, state-building began around 1920s which was about the same time oil was discovered in the country. As Miguel Salas states, “oil remained inseparable from the evolution of Venezuelan state building” (2007, p. 35). The presidency

realization that Venezuela was not a model democracy then solidified with the increasing violence in the 1990s, and finally, with the two coups of 1992 and Hugo Chávez's rise to power. In order to understand the decline of democratic governance today, one must look back to the factors that established the legitimacy of Venezuelan exceptionalism, including the "stability" maintained by the strong central state authority and "partyarchy," and the effect oil had on Venezuela's political culture, institutions, and on the relationship between the state and the public .

Strong Central Authority

Centralization of Power in the State:

Centralized power in the Venezuelan presidency has existed since the entrance of oil companies into the country. This power was facilitated by a weak congress, powerful political parties, and the use of oil to maintain stability. The expansion and centralization of the state laid the foundation for future presidents of Venezuela to maintain their authority and the country's stability, while preventing a strong, healthy democracy from emerging.

The role of the state in Venezuela fundamentally changed during the regime of Lieutenant Juan Vicente Gómez during the early 1920s. Until the mid-twentieth century, caudillismo, in which powerful landowners and elites were the major nodes of political authority, characterized Venezuelan leaders. There was a lack of political, social or administrative institutions; thus, political rules were established by force with self-organized militias and leaders as the only legitimate rulers. However, there was a persistent need for a strong central authority, which the caudillos, themselves, wanted to embody (Hellinger et. al, 1994).

The centralization of power in the state initially began with the entrance of oil companies into Venezuela in the early 1900s. Oil was first discovered at Lake Maracaibo in 1922, and then subsidiaries of Standard, Shell, and Gulf entered the country (Hellinger, 1994). The scramble for petroleum during this time allowed Gómez to consolidate power in the presidency. He saw the benefits of linking himself with foreign capital and taking advantage of the competition between oil companies. He led negotiations on concessions without the restraint and check of Congress, actions which served to benefit both the oil companies, who could

obtain crude oil supplies, and Gómez, who centralized his power and increased his personal wealth (Hellinger, 2000; Karl, 1997).

Second, Gómez's petroleum laws further allowed him to empower the executive branch. For instance, he declared private land rights unconstitutional in 1922 because the oil companies wanted to deal with one, weak, central authority rather than numerous, decentralized land elites (Karl, 1997). The move from caudillismo, mostly decentralized, to presidentialism led to the expansion of state central authority. This would allow predation, patronage, and the notion that oil and petrodollars could be used to maintain stability in a regime (Karl, 1997). This idea would remain dominant for the next century.

The centralization and expansion of state authority included the expanded jurisdiction of the state. The public wanted the government to capture more rents from the "imperialist" oil companies that could be used for social programs. In the mid to late 1940s, President Betancourt promised that the newly formed Acción Democrática (AD), a dominant political party in Venezuela, would demand a fairer, or more "just" share of oil earnings to improve the standard of living and the conditions in Venezuela (Hellinger, 1994). The Hydrocarbons Act of 1943 incorporated new taxes on oil companies, which would later lead to a "50-50" share in profits further increasing the complexity of the state (Karl, 1997).

The country's economy was burdened with an influx of dollars, and the Venezuelan currency became overvalued, encouraging imports and ultimately stunting growth of the domestic industries—the embodiment of the "Dutch Disease." The agricultural industry was hurt and made uncompetitive with the complete collapse of coffee and cacao exports (Karl, 1997). These conditions led to the financial crises of the 1940s because of the country's massive deficits. Revenue could not be obtained through taxation of the people due to the damaged agricultural sector and because the urban class was already devastated by the crises. Instead, the state had to rely on the oil companies for income. The Hydrocarbons Act also led to rentier behavior because of the domestic cooperation organized against the oil companies (Hellinger, 2000; Karl, 1997).

Jurisdiction versus Authority:

The nature of the petro-state requires a strong government because “both the requirements of oil exploitation and the depletable of the resource necessitate a highly centralized authority” (Karl, 1999, p. 35). Beyond the 1940s, the centrality of state authority persisted. The state had more responsibilities, but it was still weak and lacked the capacity to take on this role. Furthermore, strain on Venezuelan institutions and public dissatisfaction during the seventies and eighties propelled desire for more jurisdiction of the state; yet, the state was unable to handle the new responsibilities it was handed. Corruption and administrative inefficiencies pervaded government institutions (Karl, 1997). The history of Venezuelan state building and the necessities of the oil state continued the expansion and increased complexity of the central authority. As Karl explains, there was a large gap between “jurisdiction” and “authority”, or rather between the “scope or degree of intervention in the economy...and...its ability to penetrate society and channel effectively the direction of change” (1997, p. 14). This gap would lead to the crises of the 1980s.

In 1973, the Arab oil embargo sent oil prices skyrocketing, quadrupling them overnight, and making the push for nationalization strong. In 1976, Venezuela nationalized its oil industry, and finally, the oil “belonged” to Venezuela. Or did it only belong to the elites? At the time the president, Carlos Andrés Pérez, increased

spending which began to spiral out of control and outstripped revenue (Hellinger, 1994). Pérez then looked to United States’ banks to borrow, putting Venezuela in debt, allowing spending to further grow uncontrollably, and damaging fiscal discipline for the long term. This also prevented efforts at instituting a tax reform because it was almost impossible to persuade Venezuelans that the state needed more money (Karl, 1997). The public felt the state was already rich and that it did not need to take more money from them. The lack of a tax structure also prevented a healthy relationship from developing between the state and the public, known to some as the “taxation effect,” which further increases corruption (Ross, 2001).

The revenue received from the petroleum industry allowed for the continuity of the myth that the state could effectively handle a larger role in the economy. From 1917 until 1936, it is estimated that 29% of state revenues came from oil. In 1936 until 1945, that percentage jumped to 54% of state revenue. And, between 1945 until 1958, the percentage of oil revenue that was a part of state revenue was 71% (Salas, 2007). The myth centered on the large amount of money the state collected from the rise in oil prices and oil revenues, which meant it could effectively manage crises, and meet the public’s needs and desires. This type of oil-based development caused a dangerous reliance on the state. “When oil monies first come on stream, or when booms occur, rapid petrodollar flows encourage new belief

systems about the expansive role of the public sector, new modes of behavior and new vested interests” (Karl, 1999, p. 35). The large role of the state is not only a belief, but it is also perpetuated because of key interests in the oil rents.

Venezuelans seemed content with how the country was being run until the onset of the financial crises, which exposed fundamental vulnerabilities of the current political and economic system. The dependence on oil revenues would prevent the necessary reforms that might have enabled the state to more effectively deal with the current and future structural problems of the country. These problems included the decline in the price of oil, the inability to increase productivity and competitiveness, the inability to generate other forms of revenue, and the deepening “petrolization” (Romero, 1997).

Even attempts to reform led to more corruption, cronyism, patronage, centralization, and bureaucratic inefficiencies (Karl, 1997). Reforms were ineffective and increased public discontent with current conditions. In one instance, former President Carlos Andrés Pérez implemented reforms that were “diametrically opposed to his policies of 1974 to 1978.” Those past policies gave him the support to win the presidency for a second time. In contrast to the late 1970s, he privatized different corporations, cut state employment and subsidies, and agreed to an International Monetary Fund (IMF) program. His proposed IMF program provoked massive, violent protests

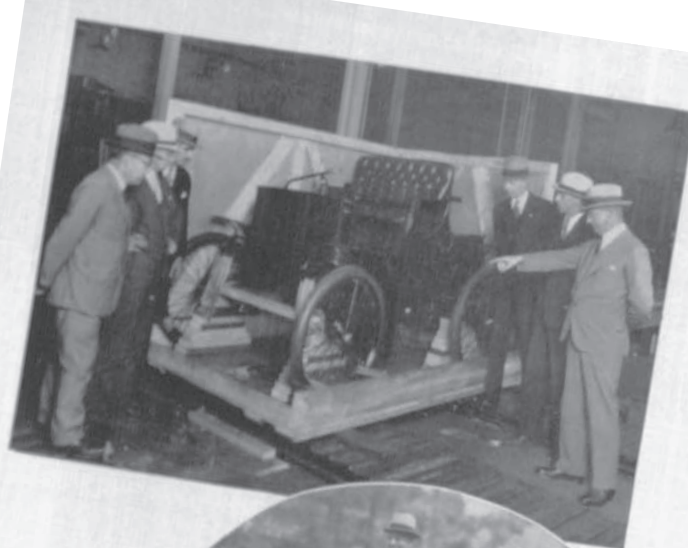
that prevented him from implementing the agreement (Hellinger, 1994, p. 41). The reforms, during both the late 1970s and 1980s, led to rent-seeking and the inability to reduce corruption, permanently hurting the authority of the pacted democracy. Karl correctly points out that these failures of the reforms “undermined the legitimacy of pacted democracy and its capacity to set any coherent economic policy” (Karl, 1997, p. 140).

The history of state building and the entrance of oil into Venezuela led to the development of a strong state role in the country’s political, economic, and cultural spheres. However, corruption, inflexibility, and inefficient management plagued the state institutions. These factors led to public disillusionment with these institutions, especially directed towards the political parties because of the “partyarchy” and pacted democracy that existed in Venezuela. The strategy of pact-making and alliance building of the pacted democracy would be determined by oil rents and rent-seeking behavior, which would further prompt public discontent with political institutions in Venezuela.

Venezuelan Democracy *Pacted Democracy and* *“Partyarchy”*

In 1958, pacts were established

A picture of ‘Old #1’ the Packard car that arrived just as Packard Laboratory was being dedicated and opened in 1930. It still is displayed in the building today, Lehigh Bachelor: February issue “Cars”, Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries



at Punto Fijo between three main political parties at the time, Acción Democrática—Democratic Action (AD), Partido Social Cristiano de Venezuela—Social Christian Party of Venezuela

(COPEI), and Unión Republicana Democrática—Democratic Republican Union (URD). These parties maintained control over state action through power-sharing;

however, URD eventually declined in importance with AD and COPEI maintaining power for the next three decades (Coppedge, 2002; McCoy, 1999). The power and stability maintained by AD and COPEI from the 1950s until the early 1980s became defined as a system of “partyarchy” and pacted democracy underwritten by the massive oil revenues. Some viewed the system as a “subsidized democracy” (Danopoulos and Sylvia, 2003). The economic expansion and social mobility experienced during this time legitimized the belief that Venezuela was a healthy, stable, and democratic nation (Karl, 1997; Coppedge, 2002).

The term “partyarchy” was coined by Coppedge (et. al, 2002) to describe the stability achieved by giving a central role to the two main political parties who would govern through “compromise and shared spoils” (Danopoulos and Sylvia, 2003, p. 64). The Pact of Punto Fijo, which established both pacted democracy and the partyarchy, intended to represent the lessons the political parties learned from past political mistakes especially the failure of the unilateral rule during the trienio of 1945-1948 (McCoy, 1999). However, the pacts made in 1958 would have their own problems; chief among them were their inflexibility and exclusion.

Coppedge details AD and COPEI's maintenance of governability and stability between the 1960s to early 1980s. First, the parties were seen as being broadly representative of society; yet, the party system was exclusive only to party representatives. The “partyarchy” created bureaucratic and “hierarchical national organizations and relied on oil revenues to satisfy the needs of their major constituencies...Oil revenue remained inequitable and the parties gradually took control of most organizations within civil society” (McCoy et. al, 1999, p.64-65). Rather than representing all of society, the parties retained the support of the elites through oil revenues. Second, the parties politicized non-party organizations like labor and student organizations, which furthered the parties' outreach to civil society (Coppedge et. al, 2002). They maintained stability through incentives and constraints for various interest groups. Third, the military was embedded into the political parties, a fact that coerced their constituencies into obeying the elites in power and fostered an environment of discipline. Fourth, both AD and COPEI continually sought consensus, avoiding conflict at all costs (Coppedge, 2002; Romero, 1997).

Since 1958, the parties “sustained an elite consensus and systematically insulated policymaking from substantive debate” (Karl, 1997, p. 110). The avoidance of conflict through consensus prevented needed reforms from being implemented and allowed the state to ignore problems that it would eventually have to deal with in the future. Finally, they worked well with other actors, especially the military and the public sector to compromise and keep each other content with the status quo (Coppedge, 2002).

The power of AD and COPEI is further described as a pacted democracy, which Terry Lynn Karl defines as “elite bargains and compromises during transition from authoritarian rule by selectively meeting demands” (1997, p. 93). Not only were pacts made between political parties, but also with business and church elites. The groups agreed upon power sharing, reconciliation of grievances, respect for individual rights and liberties, reliance on the state as the major engine for economic development, postponement of proposals for redistributing wealth, and the support for the United States in the Cold War (Myers, 2004). These pacts ensured consensus and enabled the state to establish authority, power, and ultimately legitimacy through the stability achieved.

Petro-states, like Venezuela, generally depend upon oil revenues and political stability to govern. Between parties and among constituencies there were contests for the prize of “a greater share of rents through legal and extra-legal practices...These parties evolved into organizations competing for their share in the oil-rent trough” (Hellinger, 1994, p. 39). The allocation of rents was extremely politicized within the pacted democracy, encouraging rent-seeking behavior and corruption among political and business leaders. The distribution of oil revenues depended upon satisfying the key elite leaders and ensuring that there was at least “generalized improvement” in the standard of living in Venezuela to maintain stability (Romero, 1997). This balance allowed the system to remain intact, until the vulnerabilities inherent in the system finally made this strategy of pacted democracy fall.

As mentioned in the previous section, the structure of Venezuelan democracy prevented successful and efficient reform of the state to deal with the needs of the society. The powerful political parties, institutional rigidities, and “perverse incentive structure” were major obstacles to needed reform (Karl, 1999).

First, dependency on distribution hindered regulatory processes from developing. "State officials became habituated to relying on the progressive substitution of public spending for statecraft, thereby further weakening state capacity" (Karl, 1997, p. 16). The lack of regulation within Venezuela's institutions kept the state highly centralized, as it was before the pacts of 1958 (Myers, 2004). It also allowed Venezuelan institutions to remain weak, to be plagued by corruption, and to have poor public administration (McCoy et al., 2004).

Second, Venezuela's reliance upon distributive policies to govern prevented any culture of accountability from forming between the state and the public (Myers, 2004). The immense budget available to the state makes irrelevant a tax structure upon which rests government accountability. As referred to earlier, this is what Ross refers to as the "taxation effect," where the state feels less accountable to the public (Ross, 2001). The government lacks incentives to address the needs and desires of its people. "Governments that lack accountability...foster a nasty cycle of weakened institutions, patronage, and poor governance, which in turn fosters even more corruption. Once unleashed, these forces are difficult, if not impossible, to rein in" (Schubert, 2006, pp. 7-9).

Third, there were no incentives to be efficient or prudent in making policy because money was pouring into the central power structure perpetuating the "inflexible system" and encouraging rent seeking (Karl, 1999). The influx of oil revenue produced uncontrollable public spending and unrealistic expectations of future income, especially on large, wasteful infrastructure projects (Schubert, 2006). The high level of rents would facilitate foreign borrowing, rather than directly dealing with structural reforms needed. With the loss of fiscal discipline, countries face inflation, indebtedness, and develop a culture of corruption (Ross, 2001). Petro-states are not necessarily forced to adapt because of their use of oil as collateral and because their macroeconomic conditions do not necessarily show the problems they are facing (Karl, 1999).

In the 1980s, Venezuela faced financial crisis from over-spending and from the petroleum industry's inability to produce the rents similar to past experiences. "The growing gap between the value of oil exports and state expenditures meant that petrodol-

lars alone could no longer sustain the government's spending addiction" (Karl, 1997, p. 168). There was no tax structure established, and the opposition to such a system was strong, especially from business elites who distrusted the state's ability to implement a tax system and believed that petrodollars could be used to satisfy their own needs (Karl, 1997). The increasing debt led to the announcement of Pérez's unpopular economic plan agreed upon with the IMF, prompting riots and violence. The public was fed up with "politics-as-usual" and the inability of the state to handle the country's crisis (Karl, 1997).

Democracy in Venezuela was viewed as healthy and stable until the late 1970s and early 1980s. Governance did not rely upon institutional strength; instead, stability and governability of the state were determined by the agreements among the elite, distributive policies, and factional clientelism. Venezuela's pacted democracy and "partyarchy," combined with the influx of oil money, allowed "institutionalization of privilege" for certain groups (Karl, 1997). As explained by Romero, the "influx of oil money has allowed the Venezuelan democratic government to postpone the 'constellation of problems' that led to the breakdown of democracy in other countries in the region in the 1960s and 1970s" (1997, p. 9). The increasing revenue from petroleum allowed for the myth that the state was able to continue political stability through pact-making of different groups, but this served as a detrimental vulnerability in the future (McCoy, 1999).

Public Disillusionment

Shown through public opinion polls, many in Venezuela claimed that a democracy was the most fair and just political system that would keep its promises to the public. As Romero points out, the democratic pacts and power-sharing agreements were based upon the premise that the "democratic state would be a more legitimate, stable, and efficient instrument for mediating the distribution of oil rents," in comparison to the militaristic dictatorship before 1958 (1997, p. 8). Support for democracy is strong in Venezuela, as evidenced by opinion polls of the 1990s showing that democracy is viewed as the best form of government (Romero, 1997), and also those taken today as shown by the Latinobarómetro report of 2007 (see page 24).

While the majority of the population believed in

democracy as the best form of government, there was strong popular discontent with political institutions and in their ability to deal effectively with the desires and problems of the people in the 1990s. As referred to by Romero, Andrew Templeton's study on public opinion provided strong evidence of "long-standing popular discontent on economic issues, dissatisfaction with the efficiency of public administration, disillusionment with the capacity of existing institutions to resolve the nation's problems and an increasing conviction that these institutions are not only inefficient but also corrupt" (Romero, 1997, p. 16). Romero attributes this difference between feelings about democracy and the actual conditions in Venezuela as a gap between "expectations and government performance" (et. al, 1997, p. 15).

The public views corruption and malevolence as the cause for this gap and their decreasing standard of living. Furthermore, they feel that oil profits should be redistributed more evenly (Romero, 1995). The declining per capita state oil revenues and growing population from the 1960s to late 1990s signified a smaller redistribution of Venezuela's oil wealth. There was a 47%

drop from 1963 to 1997 of the per capita oil revenue (Wilpert et. al, 2005). The inequitable distribution of oil revenue contributed to this notion that the government and business elite were corrupt and unconcerned with the coun-

their problem has become corruption instead of institutional, which has been the focus of public discontent (Romero, 1997). Hugo Chávez also takes advantage of the public's opinion on corruption to gain popularity, support, and

Table: Compilation of Latinobarómetro Data from 2007

Country	Approval of the Government	Confidence in the Government	Confidence in the President	The state can solve all the country's problems
Argentina	52	35	43	47
Bolivia	60	52	53	29
Brazil	58	35	48	40
Chile	55	45	54	39
Colombia	67	41	57	36
Costa Rica	55	34	42	30
DR	46	43	41	65
Ecuador	74	41	52	38
El Salvador	54	40	38	40
Guatemala	27	31	24	31
Honduras	56	41	41	29
Mexico	60	37	46	26
Nicaragua	54	36	40	28
Panama	38	30	28	46
Paraguay	17	15	13	38
Peru	29	22	25	22
Uruguay	61	57	61	41
Venezuela	61	66	60	67
Latin America	52	39	43	38

Source: Latinobarómetro 2007

try's poor.

Although the Venezuelan public desires a strong central state and a statist model of intervention in the economy, the institutions are weak. However, the scapegoat for

ultimately control. In the eyes of the public, the paternalistic state has an obligation to intervene in the economy and to address the needs of the people. This has promoted a paradoxical lack of

trust in institutions due to corruption and a simultaneous desire for statist intervention. Yet, with such a gap between jurisdiction and authority, the public has begun to trust personalities rather than the country's institutions (Romero et. al, 1997).

Democracy in Crisis: The Emergence of Hugo Chávez

After the two 1992 military coups that tried to oust Carlos Andrés Pérez, impeached for fraud, and after the 1994 collapse of the banking system of Rafael Caldera, the Punto Fijo agreement finally collapsed in 1998 (McCoy,

1999). The two administrations were viewed as untrustworthy, corrupt, and incapable of running the country effectively. They were overspending, the country was in debt, and the population was faced with impoverishment and a decreasing standard of living. "Not only did these rulers believe

Table (from Latinobarómetro): Attitudes towards Democracy in 2007: Summary

Country	Supports Democracy	Satisfaction with Democracy	Democracy is the best system of government	Government looks after the good of the people	Confidence in Democracy	Scale of Adequate Democracy	Graded Scale of Democracy	Government acts for the good of the people
Argentina	63	33	83	42	67	6	6.9	18
Bolivia	67	41	81	64	63	5.8	6.8	43
Brazil	43	30	75	57	44	5.9	6.3	28
Colombia	47	32	72	62	49	5.8	6.5	25
Costa Rica	83	32	82	62	61	7	7.6	28
Chile	46	47	67	56	53	5.8	6.6	22
DR	64	81	81	60	60	6.7	7	13
Ecuador	65	36	77	57	51	5.7	6.5	25
El Salvador	38	35	63	49	38	4.9	5.6	23
Guatemala	32	33	53	38	42	5	5.4	19
Honduras	38	30	66	42	46	5.6	5.9	17
Mexico	48	31	66	51	47	5.4	6.3	29
Nicaragua	61	31	75	63	58	5.6	6.8	33
Panama	62	43	76	45	56	5.9	6.5	13
Paraguay	33	38	49	24	34	4.4	4.7	7
Peru	47	9	60	46	39	5.2	5.9	16
Uruguay	75	66	86	67	77	7.1	7.9	43
Venezuela	67	59	83	70	77	6.9	7.9	48
Latin America	54	37	72	53	54	5.8	6.5	25

Source: Latinobarómetro 2007

they could finance their major development projects at home, but they could also invest or buy resources and protection abroad” (Karl, 1999, p. 34). The lack of fiscal discipline led to increasing debt and forced the administrations of Pérez and Caldera to adopt economic plans including austerity measures. The programs seemed harsh for the poor and the antithesis of Venezuelans’ opinions on how the state should be run. Both Pérez’s and Caldera’s programs were incompatible with the public’s desire for the state to take care of its people.

The plans adopted by the government were based on the neoliberal model that the public rejected. They felt putting the burden on them was unfair. To many Venezuelans, the actions taken by the state showed how corrupt the political and business elite had become. There was a common perception that the country was rich due to the immense oil wealth, but the policies recommended by the IMF would have put the burden on the people, instead of dealing with the corrupt leaders, which enraged the public. Overspending, structural problems, including the dependency on oil revenue, and the changing market conditions caused all of Venezuela’s vulnerabilities to become apparent—the stage was set for a crisis (Romero, 1997).

After the fall of the pacted democracy even the association with AD or COPEI cost the candidates support (McCoy, 1999). Venezuelans were tired of the way the political system had been handled during the past few decades; thus,

they looked to a “political outsider” to fix the system. The void created by the disillusionment with traditional political parties was filled by a strong, charismatic leader, Hugo Chávez. The public became enchanted by “personalismo” because of the previously centralized, exclusive, and corrupt political institutions. Chávez understood the drastic changes desired by the people and he knew how to earn the trust and support of Venezuelans (Cameron, 2001; Romero, 1997; Shifter, 2006).

The aim of Chávez’s Bolivarian Revolution was to reject traditional corrupt institutions and to ensure that all of Venezuela would enjoy the “fruits” of the oil wealth (McCoy et. al, 1999). The public is attracted to his “personalismo” and his drive to rid the country of corruption, the long-time scapegoat of Venezuela’s problems (Romero, 1997; Rosenberg, 2007), and to his persistence to “correct the power and wealth imbalances” (Shifter, 2006). Chávez’s Bolivarian Revolution, and his “oil revolution” planned to correct all the problems that have characterized Venezuela for decades (Rosenberg, 2007).

Gregory Wilpert explains the Bolivarian Revolution through five characterizations. First, it was redistributive. The country’s oil wealth was spread more evenly throughout the country by instituting social programs and land reform. Formerly, the wealth was siphoned off by the political elite (Wilpert, 2005). Chávez also directed the funds of the state oil company, PDVSA, into a fund over which the president would have complete control. He has used

this money for community based “misiones” that provide basic services to the poor in formerly marginalized communities. According to Shifter, about \$20 billion was used for “misiones” to provide food, and education and health services to the poor between 2003 and 2006 (Shifter, 2006).

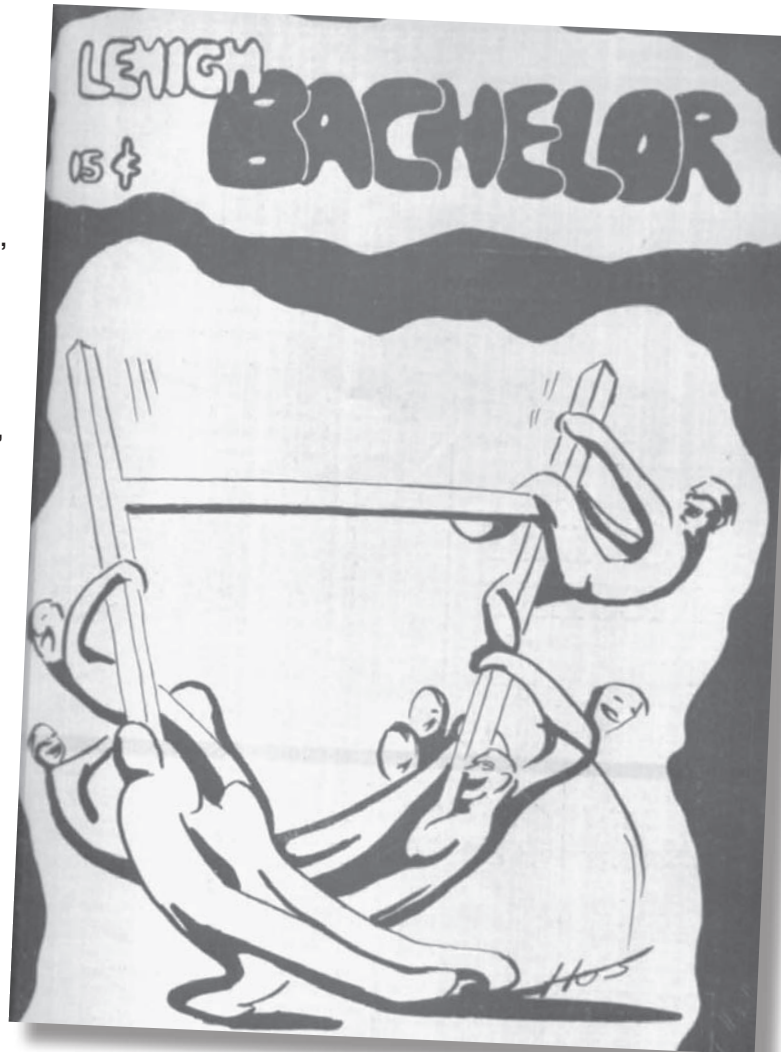
Second, Chávez’s project is anti-neoliberal, or opposed to free trade, state austerity programs, privatization, and deregulation. Instead, he favors an “endogenous development,: education for the poor, and political and economic integration of Latin America (Wilpert et. al, 2005). He funds this type of development completely by oil revenue. “The money that PDVSA does get from selling at market prices goes to finance Chávez’s revolution at home. Last year, PDVSA’s payments to the state totaled more than \$35 billion...35% of the company’s gross earnings” (Rosenberg, 2007). He provides discounted oil to countries in Central America and the Caribbean and also uses the money to finance the socially motivated “misiones” (Rosenberg, 2007).

Third, Chávez’s regime is participatory. The system of democracy is no longer representative, but instead based upon citizen participation, including local public planning councils (Wilpert, 2005). Before, the two dominant parties, AD and COPEI, controlled politics and excluded the public from participating in the public sphere. What remains to be seen is whether these programs actually allow the public to participate or if they merely act as a façade of participation. Studies still must be

conducted to assess how involved the Revolution allows the public to be.

Fourth, the Bolivarian Revolution is inclusive. There are redistributive programs, like social projects and land reforms, and affirmative action measures. Moreover “his symbolically integrative discourse cultivates an extraordinary sense of belonging” (Lander, 2007, p. 28). As stated before, the political system was extremely exclusionary under the Punto Fijo, pacted democracy. Chávez understood the need to rectify this situation and promised to ensure inclusion of all (Wilpert, 2005).

Finally, the Revolution was based upon fighting corruption. Theories of the oil curse and public perceptions have led to the belief of corruption as one of Venezuela’s main problems. After the fiscal troubles of the 1980s, Romero comments, “Corruption in fact became a catch-all means of interpreting a wide range of problems, especially the economic crisis” (Romero et. al, 1997, p. 20). Corruption remains a “scapegoat” for the country’s difficulties today. “Venezuelans have placed their faith in individuals rather than in institutions. They want a leadership style that is authoritarian, messianic, and nationalistic, one



Lehigh Bachelor: “Football Pole”, Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries

that promises to redistribute the country and take revenge on those who are corrupt” (Romero, 1997, p. 24). Because the country was rich from oil wealth and a huge gap remained between the rich and poor, the public was left to believe that corruption was preventing the oil wealth from being distributed equitably. Chávez’s anti-

corruption pledge, thus, is attractive to the poor and earns him popular support among them.

While the Revolution may seem to be a positive alternative to the pacted democracy of the 1940s and 1970s, Chávez’s political project has prompted criticism by many Western governments, especially the United States, for being anti-democratic, authoritarian, and for suppressing civil and political liberties. The view of Venezuelan exceptionalism is truly deteriorating: “Venezuela [is] retreating from what seemed like an unstoppable process of democratization” (Friedman, 2005). Chávez rejected the 1961 Constitution which he viewed as a major cause of Venezuelans’ problems; yet, there is no real consensus that anything was essentially non-democratic about it. On the other hand, it represented and symbolized the corrupt political parties that the public distrusted (Wilpert, 2005). Human rights organizations and countries such as the United States have voiced their opposition to Chávez for his suppression of opposition. He is particularly aggressive in his stance on the media as evidenced by his closure of RCTV. He also reacted to strikes by PDVSA employees by firing thousands of them (Rosenberg, 2007). Besides his aggressive reactions to opposition, his strategy

for improving the situation in Venezuela is viewed as unsustainable. Shifter (2006) views his Revolution as “hardly a sustainable model for Venezuela...[It] is fundamentally clientelistic, perpetuating dependence on state patronage rather than promoting broad-based development.” Chávez is dependent upon a single commodity, and oil prices are increasing, but for how long can this last? The market is cyclical, a pattern that will undermine stability in the future if oil prices drop or if a financial crisis occurs. Venezuela is still at the mercy of the volatile international oil market.

In contrast to the United States’ discourse of the Venezuelan decline in democratic governance, Venezuelan citizens see their country’s democracy as existing and succeeding in Venezuela. The *Latinobarómetro* poll shows that 70% of Venezuelans believe democracy is preferable to any other type of government, although there was a large drop from 78% in 2005. However, only 11% believe an authoritarian government is preferable to a democratic one (*The Latinobarómetro Poll*, 2006). The public’s view of the current situation in Venezuela is positive. Venezuela has the highest rate of satisfaction with democracy in Latin America, at 57% of the population, up 2% from 2006. On a scale from 1 to 10, 10 being the highest, the average Venezuelan gave democracy in the country a 7.6. The 2007 *Latinobarómetro* poll shows that 52% of Venezuelan citizens believe that the economic situation of the country is positive, the highest percentage among all Latin American countries and 30% higher than the second highest, Brazil. Not only do they believe that their country’s economy is strong; they also believe it will become even stronger. An incredible 60% of those polled believe the situation will improve (*Latinobarómetro*, 2007).

All indicators show support for democracy among Venezuelans, as almost the highest in the region according to *Latinobarómetro*, but the country is still viewed as anti-democratic. What can account for these differences in perspectives? First, the view of Venezuela as a solid, healthy democracy was skewed during the 1940s and 1970s. The perspective that democracy is in sharp decline is not completely valid, because it was never truly the exceptional democracy it was praised to be. It was looked to as a “model democracy” because of the circumstances of the time. The Venezuelan exceptionalism argument was put forward at the time of the Cold War, and the country was

stable in comparison to other Latin American countries. There is no doubt that freedoms have declined and that the executive has become more centralized and powerful, but the argument that Venezuela was a democracy for others to model is wrong. Instead, the illusion of stability and the illusion that Venezuela was a healthy democracy have made current developments surprising, and the exceptionalism thesis is finally being questioned (Ellner & Salas, 2007). One must remember that vulnerabilities within the system were allowed to exist, and these have finally deteriorated democracy in Venezuela and allowed Chávez to achieve strong support and popularity, and space for achieving his Revolution.

Many Venezuelans seem content with current conditions in Venezuela. A high priority is put on the state’s role in the public sphere, especially its responsibility to solve the problems that the country faces. This expectation dates back to the beginning of the 1920s when oil was first discovered. The role that oil played in centralizing power in the executive and in underpinning the pact-making and stability of the “partyarchy” has produced a strong incentive for the state to use its oil wealth to deal with any difficulty it faces. Sixty seven percent of the population believes the state can solve all of the country’s problems and has the means to do so. This percentage is the highest in Latin America, where the regional average is 37% (*Latinobarómetro*, 2007). However, the public has been enchanted by Chávez’s call for ridding the country of corruption and for redistributing oil wealth to the people. As shown in the graph above, corruption is seen to have decreased between 2003 and 2005. These conditions allow Chávez to maintain his support. The lack of trust Venezuelans have in institutions has led them to look to personalities like Chávez. The polls also seem to suggest that Venezuelans feel included in the system, which is completely different from how they felt during the “partyarchy.” McCoy suggests that the acceptance of Chávez is because Venezuelan political leaders failed to include new participants in the political system and did not evolve with their changing constituents (McCoy, 1999).

Has the public allowed Chávez the space to rule because they welcome the larger role of the state? Or, has the public enchantment with Chávez allowed them to ignore the oppressiveness of Chávez’s rule? Are these social programs even effective and of qual-

ity? There are questions as to whether the Chávez presidency allows true participation and inclusion when “virtually all key decisions are in the hands of the president” (Shifter et. al, 2006). His oppressiveness combined with the lack of sustainability in Chávez’s project leads to the question: how long will this enchantment last? The recent defeat of Chávez’s plan to extend term limits, to call for a state of emergency for an unlimited amount of time, and to increase the state role in the economy casts the doubt on Venezuelans’ clear support for Chávez.

Conclusion

Venezuelan exceptionalism was based upon the nature of the state and the government’s strategies during the period of pacted democracy and “partyarchy.” The centralized authority in the state and pact-making, along with the use of oil revenue, allowed the state to maintain relative stability and perpetuated the illusion that the Venezuelan state of democracy was healthy and stable among the public and in the United States. Furthermore, the public’s belief in a strong state to deal with all the country’s problems remains today. However, this approach to statecraft allowed Venezuela to hide vulnerabilities that inevitably developed into future problems, especially the financial crisis of the 1980s. The lack of fiscal discipline and corruption ultimately exposed these ignored problems.

As a result, Venezuelans distrust state institutions, especially the traditional political parties, which are viewed as exclusionary and corrupt. They believe the country is rich from its oil wealth, but the masses have not benefitted from this wealth because the corrupt and malevolent elites stole the country’s money for their own benefit, rather than redistributing it to the people. This disillusionment opened up a vacuum of power conducive to the emergence of a charismatic leader. The public would look to personalities, like Hugo Chávez, who promised to change the status quo.

The Chávez regime is criticized for its authoritarian, anti-United States, and socialist rhetoric and practices; yet, the countrymen seem content with the state of democracy in Venezuela, as evidenced by the Latinobarómetro polls. However, this poll contrasts with recent events by opposition movements like the defeat of Chávez’s proposed charter to end term lim-

its. Still, the executive is powerful and there is strong support for Chávez because of his determined mission of redistributing oil wealth by instituting social programs and by ridding the country of corruption. Whether or not the public will continue to trust the leader and his Revolution is becoming seriously questioned, but democracy will continue to decline unless the public starts to look to reforming political institutions like the exclusionary parties rather than trusting the “personalismo” of individuals like Chávez.

10 in 8: A Realistic Approach to Oil Reduction in America

by Will Brehm

Mountain Bike Trails

Laced throughout Lehigh's 670 acres of woods is a complex network of mountain bike trails that run for miles and miles. Friendly to all skill levels, the South Mountain trails offer a wide variety ranging from easy-rolling single track to steep descents, technical bridges, and large jumps.

Sculpture Garden

Commonly mistaken for the former site of a fraternity, this field is tucked away through the woods at the top of The Hill and contains an eclectic mix of artistic pieces designed by students and local artists alike (including several pieces by Mr. Imagination). Initially the site of the campus leaf dump, the garden was founded several years ago by religious studies professor Norman Girardot while searching for a 'spiritual place' for the student body.

It's easy for a President to say, "America is addicted to oil." American presidents are notorious for proposing long-term instead of short-term energy strategies. Many of these strategies will not come into effect until after his or her presidency,

and often rely on technologies that are not completely developed or economically feasible. The frightening reality is, however, that like any finite resource, oil will eventually run out. As of right now, the conservative Cambridge Energy Research Associates, Inc. predicts that in 20 or 30 years, the world will have already used half of all proven oil reserves under the Earth's surface. More liberal estimates suggest that the world has already used up half of the Earth's oil reserves. While oil will undoubtedly continue to be a major source of energy for many years to come, the truth of the matter is: one day the world will have to function without oil.

America can either continue its reckless approach to oil consumption or it can phase in continuous small reductions to wean itself off of oil. The longer America waits to take action, the more severe the consequences will be, particularly because Americans currently consume almost twenty-five percent of the world's oil. Alternatively, we can make small sacrifices now, which are engineered to improve our standard of living, and slowly, deliberately phase out oil before it phases out naturally. In the past, it has been difficult for a President to propose short-term goals in the beginning of an administration that can have an immediate impact on oil consumption within four or eight

years. These policies put a president's credibility and accountability on the line because if his policies drastically reduce the standard of living for Americans, re-election becomes problematic. However, it is by adopting a short-term policy that we can slowly begin to phase out oil consumption, and guarantee that there will be no drastic changes to our standard of living in the future. Each successive President thereafter can administer other small decreases so that over an extended period of time, America will be able to reduce its oil consumption.

Although it may seem radical, this policy aims to reduce America's consumption of oil by ten percent in eight years. Ten percent is not a drastic change to either total consumption or the average American standard of living, although it might be just the boost America needs to begin the road to energy independence. As oil reduces slowly, Americans can learn to adapt to new lifestyles that less consumption requires. In 2006, a 10% decrease equaled approximately 2.0 to 2.2 million barrels per day (mbpd). Population increases will likely contribute to increased oil consumption; by 2015 World oil consumption is predicted to reach 103.0mbpd (Schlesinger and Giusti, p. 6). By 2025, total World oil consumption is predicated to equal 120.0mbpd (Energy Information Administra-

tion Annual Energy Outlook 2007, table B4). Assuming America will continue to consume approximately 25% of World consumption, America will consume between 25.7 to 30mbpd. This policy aims to reduce oil consumption between 2.6mbpd to 3.1mbpd—to overcompensate for long-term projections—within eight years, or by 2017.

To reach this goal, this policy will take a look at several approaches to energy efficiency, although the main focus will be on transportation. This policy combines old and new methods to counter the growing energy dilemma. According to “Winning the Oil End Game” by Amory

sumption in the immediate future.

Reducing the number of vehicles on the road will undoubtedly reduce the consumption of oil. There exist a number of ways to achieve this goal, mainly at a small expense to the average citizen (i.e. increased gasoline prices). Without accounting for negative externalities—increased damage to the environment, congestion, and chance for accidents – the true price of driving becomes skewed. Americans must be made aware of these externalities and be held accountable. To hold the citizenry accountable, the President should consider the imple-

While oil will undoubtedly continue to be a major source of energy for many years to come, the truth of the matter is: one day the world will have to function without oil.

Lovins and Kyle Datta, oil used in the transportation sector is predicted to increase by 72.8% by 2025, which makes transportation one of the most logical areas for improvement. For short-term approaches, conservation can quickly decrease consumption. Therefore, conservation in the transportation sector will be the main approach. However, combining different approaches, which reduce oil consumption by a small amount each, work together in a timely manner to add up to the 2.6–3.1mbpd target.

The design of this energy policy assumes an eight-year time frame, the typical tenure for an American president, so the President would be held accountable for his or her policy. The approaches taken, however, must be more immediate than one might assume. Recently, the Bush administration has been working to implement mid-term goals such as Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards. These standards, a specific average mile per gallon minimum for an entire manufacturer's fleet of cars in one year, aim to increase automobile efficiency. This much-needed piece of legislation will undoubtedly reduce oil consumption, but will take longer than eight years to fully take effect. Even if new, more drastic CAFE standards are passed in the beginning of the next President's tenure, the standards will take time to come into effect because of the 6% car turnover rate in America (Mahedy). For 50% of American cars to meet new CAFE standards would take nine years, so even though CAFE standards will eventually reduce oil consumption, more needs to be done to decrease oil con-

sumption in the immediate future.

The first approach centers on reworking the price of gasoline to reflect its true cost. Oil companies could increase the cost at which they sell oil to accomplish this goal. The government would need to force oil companies to push gasoline prices up by increasing corporate taxes. Many oil companies receive reduced corporate income taxes that skew gasoline prices. For example, the average price/gallon of gasoline in America in 2005 was \$2.27. The average price/gallon in Beirut, Lebanon was \$2.63, \$4.24 in Tokyo, Japan, and \$6.48 in Amsterdam, Netherlands (CNNMoney.com). If American oil companies had to pay more money to the government, the price of oil would increase as oil companies try to keep profit margins equal, if not increasing. The companies—not the American government—would indirectly pass the price burden onto the consumers. This approach, however, could result in the tax being wrongly allocated once in the government's control; the new money would come from companies, not consumers. The second approach provides stronger guarantees for proper reallocation (mainly to increase the standard of living of citizens to offset the loss of standard of living from increased gasoline costs) of the taxed money.

The second and even more aggressive approach is a government-implemented tax on gasoline. Though this would likely suffer severe political backlash, raising the federal and state taxes on gasoline, which the Energy Information Administration reported stood at 19% of the

(Right) The Bethlehem Steel Co. Band at Lehigh. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.

(Below) The Bethlehem Steel Co. Baseball team in 1918. Courtesy of Special Collections, Lehigh University Libraries.



Congressional Budget office predicts that a 46 cent-per-gallon increase would cost the economy, mainly the consumers, \$2.9 billion, but would save 90.5 billion barrels within 14 years (Dinan and Austin). By the 15th year a 10% reduction in oil consumption would occur. Using a gasoline tax in conjunction with other policy approaches could achieve 10% within 8 years. The \$2.9 billion could be invested into a gasoline fund that provides tremendous advantages.

The money earned from a tax could be used for various programs that would help the citizenry, such as

total cost of one gallon of gasoline in 2005 (or 43 cents), it would decrease consumption as well as help long-term goals like combating global warming (one of the negative externalities) and funding alternative fuels. The

increasing the social security fund or even as rewards for private companies conducting research and design in alternative fuel. A tax on the citizens would provide certain guarantees. First, the new money would be put into

an interest-earning fund. The fund could financially support research and design into long-term energy policy approaches. Second, the allocation of the fund would support the tax-paying citizens through fixing social security or funding universal health care. The welfare state in America increases, and thus the standard of living for Americans will increase even as the price to drive goes up. Of course, this thinking requires Washington to break from the conventional approach to legis-

but other approaches to reduce congestion exist as well. For example, increasing tolls or putting in driving restrictions like that proposed in New York City would cause a disincentive for Americans to drive in normally areas of congestion. Recently, New York City proposed even more radical ideas, such as taxicab stands in certain areas of the city, than Mayor Bloomberg's congestion pricing proposal that charges cars to drive in certain areas of Manhattan (Neuman). Implementing a federal

The last short-term policy approach centers on reducing electricity generation from petroleum. If electricity generation did not come from petroleum, America could save 197 thousand bpd. The Energy Information Agency reports that America received about 3% of electricity from petroleum in 2005. To reduce the use of petroleum, various incentives should persuade buildings to switch from petroleum to natural gas electricity. If overall electricity generation reduces, then

The longer America waits to take action, the more severe the consequences will be, particularly because Americans currently consume almost twenty-five percent of the world's oil.

lating: Congress essentially needs to emphasize the true cost of driving while providing approaches (a gasoline fund) that benefit Americans.

The other policy approach that reveals the true costs of driving has to do with congestion control. Waiting in traffic costs money not only in the productivity lost for the people inside the cars or damage to the environment due to more carbon dioxide emissions, but also for the fuel wasted while sitting idle. Too many cars on the road require American drivers to fill up more often. The Texas Transportation Institute estimates that 2.9 billion gallons (approximately 180 thousand bpd or about 6% of the target goal of 2.6 –3.1mbpd target reduction) of fuel were wasted due to congestion in 2005. If the government could reduce congestion, fuel consumption would decrease. Of course higher gasoline prices would reduce American automobile travel,

law on city congestion would reduce driving and, therefore, oil consumption. Another approach is city planning: with the construction of denser communities, the ability for effective public transportation systems increases as well as the likelihood for foot and bike commuters.

The last transportation policy initiative is to reduce the highway speed limit from 75 miles per hour (mph) to 65mph (or from 65 to 55 mph). As automobiles travel faster, air resistance increases and causes less fuel-efficient driving. Highway driving consumed 4.9mbpd in 2004 (Bureau of Transportation Statistics). The National Resource Defense Council (NRDC) reports that driving 10 mph slower will reduce highway gasoline consumption by 15%. This translates into approximately 745 thousand bpd saved, or about 26% of the average target goal (2.85mbpd) to reduce oil consumption by 10%.

petroleum can be phased out and replaced by the other forms of electricity generation without increasing overall output. First, all government buildings must be high efficiency. Simple measures include switching incandescent light bulbs to compact florescent light bulbs or the installation of solar power to generate a portion of electricity. Second, discounts or tax breaks should provide the incentive for other companies to follow suit. Eventually, America could wean itself off 3% of electricity and easily replace the petroleum-generated electricity with other, potentially cleaner forms. Thus, another 197 thousand barrels of oil would be saved per year, or about 7% of the average target goal.

Between a large effort to reduce consumption of oil in the transportation sector and a small push to stop petroleum-generated electricity, America could realistically reduce oil consumption by 10% within eight

years. Through lowering the speed limit, clearing congestion, and reducing petroleum-generated electricity, America can quickly reduce oil consumption by four percent. If an increase in gasoline prices can reduce consumption 10% within 15 years, a reduction of six percent within eight years is absolutely feasible. If the government increases the Gas-tax and puts the money into an interest-earning fund, the small decline in the standard of living will be elevated by the increase in the social institutions of America.

Education rests at the heart of true change in the American understanding of oil. The government should begin to design an educational approach for public schools to inform students (and soon-to-be drivers) of the issues of over abundant energy consumption and its effects on America's future, especially in terms of global warming. This effort could profoundly change the energy discourse, allowing for different governmental regulations to pass with great public support. Over time, as Americans begin to understand that oil is finite, future energy legislation will gain the support of American citizens. Each small step America takes now reduces the drastic lifestyle shift that will inevitably occur when the fateful oil draught reaches American gas stations. Phasing in small reductions in consumption will ease the shift away from a petroleum economy. Unless America has informed citizens, wise decisions and support for the slow change will be unlikely.

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About the Authors

Meritt Parkway

Dylan Coonrad, a Junior from Ramsey, New Jersey, who is studying Architecture and Graphic Design. Outside the studio, Coonrad is a member of the Theta Chi Fraternity and frequently appears on the Zoellner stage. “Meritt Parkway” was written as a final product of ARCH 363, “Evolution of Long-Span Bridges” taught by Tom Peters. The paper explores the implications of the built world and its effect on the natural environment, and analyzes from an architectural perspective, where the things we design enhance the way in which we live.



Rem Koolhaas:

An Architecture of Innovation

Daniel Fox is a junior at Lehigh, double majoring in Architecture and Graphic Design. He is involved with Leadership Lehigh, the Epitome Yearbook, and the Zoellner Arts Center stage crew. After graduation, Fox plans to pursue a master's degree in Architecture and hopes to one day open his own architectural firm. His interests outside of Lehigh include swimming, bowling, watching movies and riding roller coasters.



Art is a Symbol:

Conceptualism and the Vietnam War

Michael King on his work:

“I decided to write about this subject matter because of my fascination with the way ideas are manifested visually in culture,” says Michael King, a senior History major who wrote the essay “Art is Symbol” for a class about the Vietnam War. King says, “I’d never heard much about the art world’s reaction, if any, to the war in Vietnam. I’d always thought of it as being pretty indifferent. So I looked into it and ended up devising the argument I present in my paper. For me this paper represents a learning process.” Outside of the classroom, King is a racing cyclist and Co-President of the Lehigh cycling club as well as a member of the NCC/Bikereg.com cycling team. King also enjoys reading and spending time with friends and family. He plans to attend grad school after graduation (though he hasn’t decided where yet) and hopes to eventually work in academia or the museum industry.



Biological vs. Environmental Factors: Determining the Cause of Pervasive Developmental Disorders in Children

Jami Zaretsky is a senior psychology major from Upper Saddle River, New Jersey. Throughout her time at Lehigh, she has been very involved in numerous organizations on campus, including Kappa Alpha Theta sorority and the Lehigh University Hillel Society. Jami will be attending medical school next fall and aspires to become a Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrician. She is especially interested in pervasive developmental disorders and looks forward to helping children with these disorders achieve their maximum potentials.



The Struggle Against a Killer

Zachary Gray is sophomore Finance major in Lehigh's College of Business and Economics. He is from South Plainfield, New Jersey and comes from a family of five. His essay, "The Struggle Against a Killer" was written for a religion class entitled "Black Death to AIDS."



Nationalism, Identity and Democracy in Japan

Emily Schulman is a senior International Relations and English major from McLean Virginia. During her time at Lehigh, she has written for The Brown and White, worked with UP Music, and tutored other students. Last year, Emily studied abroad in Strasbourg France where she did a case study on immigration in the European Union. She worked in editing over the summer and hopes to pursue a career in journalism after graduation.



I Die Content: Re-Imagining Slavery with Edgeworth and Aiken's Devoted Slaves

Christine Tucker is a senior English major with minors in Sociology and Creative Writing. She is a staff member at Lehigh's Women's Center where she is the editor of Origyns, a feminist journal. She is also involved in University Productions-Arts and Excursions and is the vice president of the honors society Phi Eta Sigma. Next year, she will be a President's Scholar at Lehigh, working toward an M.A. in English and a Graduate Certificate in Women's Studies. She wrote the paper that appears here in a graduate seminar called "Romanticism and the Cult of Childhood."



The Decline of Democracy in Venezuela: The Deteriorization of Venezuelan Exceptionalism and the Rise of Hugo Chavez

Meredith Aach is a senior majoring in International Relations and Anthropology. She is currently writing her Senior Honors Thesis on "The Limitations of Microfinance: Theory and Practice" for both her Eckardt Scholar Senior Project and her Global Citizenship Capstone Project. She has been extremely active in globally focused clubs on campus for the past four years including the World Affairs Club, Global Union, and the newly founded Microfinance Club, which she co-founded with four other Lehigh students. She received both the William D. Blake Award for academic excellence and promise of leadership and the Carey B. Joynt International Relations Leadership Award. Next year, she will be doing Teach for America in Washington D.C. teaching Special Education.



10 in 8: A Realistic Approach to Oil Reduction in America

Will Brehm on his work:

"I hope this essay will begin a realistic, personal discussion for oil reduction," says Will Brehm, a senior International Relations major at Lehigh, "Even at Lehigh we can make changes to reduce our oil consumption." Brehm is actively involved in social justice issues on campus by working with The Movement and Kaleidoscope. He also started a website thecultureofconversation.com, which aims to create a global student social network. Aside from his work on campus, Brehm has taught English literature in Taipei and writes a blog at willbrehm.com. He plans to attend Teachers College at Columbia University in the fall to work on a Master of Arts in International Educational Development.



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